The United States and the Global Nuclear Order:

Narrative Identity and the Representation of India as the 'Other'

1993-2009

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Dedicated to the memory of my grandmother

Eunice Ernest Solanki

(1933-2008)

Contents

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At this point I inevitably look back at the achievements and failures with a smile as well as look forward to acknowledge the cooperation and encouragement provided by one and all in making my undertaking achievable.

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My research pursuit from an uncertain start to the present stage reminds me of my grandmother's patience, perseverance and preferred Biblical line (Isaiah 64:8):

"We are the clay, and You are the potter; we are the work of Your hand".

Declaration

This thesis is entirely my own work and no portion of it has been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

Post-Cold War US nuclear policies towards India witnessed a major swing as they developed from being a demand for the 'halt, cap, rollback' during Bill Clinton administration (1993-2001) to the signing and implementation of the historic 'civil nuclear deal' during the George W. Bush administration (2001-2009). This thesis addresses this change in US nuclear foreign policy by focusing on three core categories of identity, inequality and great power narratives. First, building upon the theoretical paradigm of critical constructivism, the thesis problematises the concept of the 'state' by focusing on identity-related questions arguing that the 'state' becomes a constructed entity standing as valid only within relations of identity and difference. Secondly, focusing on postcolonial principles, it argues that imperialism as an organising principle of identity/difference enables us to understand how difference was maintained in unequal terms through US nuclear foreign policy and that foreign policy is manifested in five great power narratives constructed around: peace and justice; India-Pakistan deterrence; democracy; economic progress; and scientific development. Thirdly, identities of 'race', 'political economy' and 'gender', in terms of *radical otherness* and *otherness* were recurrently utilised through these narratives to maintain a difference, which enabled the Bill Clinton and the George W. Bush administrations to maintain 'US' identity as a progressive and developed western nation, intrinsically justifying the US role as an arbiter of the global nuclear order. The contribution of the thesis: an interdisciplinary perspective on US state identity as connected to the global nuclear order and implications of nuclear policy towards India; a comparative perspective on great power narratives of the Clinton and the Bush administrations that are historically contingent; and methodological insights into temporal and spatial dimensions of textuality through the discourse analysis of primary material.

List of Abbreviations

ABMs	Anti-Ballistic Missiles
AEC	Atomic Energy Commission
AECA	Arms Export Control Act
BARC	Bhabha Atomic Research Centre
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BRICS	Brazil Russia India China South Africa
BWRs	Boiling Water Reactors
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIRUS	Canada-India Reactor, US
CPI	Counter Proliferation Initiative
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DOE	Department of Energy
DRDO	Defence Research and Development Organisation
ENDC	Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FMCT	Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
HTCG	High Technology Cooperation Group
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBMs	Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ISRO	Indian Space Research Organisation

IT	Information Technology
LDC	Less Developed Country
LEU	Low Enriched Uranium
LTBT	Limited Test Ban Treaty
MEND	Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NNPA	US Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act
NNWS	Non-nuclear Weapons States
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRC	Nuclear Regulatory Commission
NSA	National Security Agency
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
NSS	National Security Strategy
NSSP	Next Steps in Strategic Partnership
NWS	Nuclear Weapons States
PHWRs	Pressurised Heavy Water Reactors
PNE	Peaceful Nuclear Explosion
R&D	Research and Development
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
TAPS	Tarapur Atomic Power Station
UN	United Nations
UNDC	United Nations Disarmament Commission
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UPA	United Progressive Alliance

VOA	Voluntary Offer Arrangements
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

Introduction

US-India bilateral nuclear relations for the most part of the history have remained uncordial since the two democracies could not overcome their disagreements pertaining to the regime of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). While US preferred a global nuclear order wherein non-proliferation was pivotal, and therefore, maintained a strong stance on India signing the NPT, India on the other hand, consistently averted the pressure citing that NPT was unequal as it did not restrain the five nuclear powers from weapons development. India's first Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) in 1974 worked as a one more negative factor in the already 'deeply strained' US-India relationship.[1] However, the post-Cold War US policy, at least in relation to India, was significant in its own right because the Bill Clinton and the George W. Bush administrations came to pursue contradictory nuclear policies towards India. The Clinton administration in 1990's, unlike its predecessors vehemently pursued the stance of zero nuclear tolerance and at every given opportunity forced India to conform to the non-proliferation guidelines. According to the prevalent analysis, this compulsion was the main reason that led India to break its restraint of the past twenty-four years and become an 'overt' nuclear weapon state with its Pokharan II explosion in 1998.[2] The statement issued by Bill Clinton and his aides captures the disappointment as India overturned the carefully calibrated nuclear policy of the US. The President was reportedly 'deeply disturbed'[3] by the nuclear tests and stated that this 'action by India not only threatens the stability of the region, but directly challenges the firm, international consensus to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction'.[4] White House Press Secretary, Mike McCurry, said that India's decision to conduct nuclear tests 'runs counter

[1] Bruce Riedel, *Avoiding Armageddon: America, India, and Pakistan to the Brink and Back* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013), p. 79.
[2] Jyotika Saksena, 'Regime design matters: the CTBT and India's nuclear dilemma', in Scott Gates and Kaushik Roy eds., The *Nuclear Shadow over South Asia, 1947 to present* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011), p. 210. William Walker, 'Nuclear Relations after the Indian and Pakistani Test Explosions', *International Affairs*, vol. 74, no. 3, 1998, pp. 505-528, see pp. 509-512.
[3] 'Indian blasts spark arms race, talk of sanctions', *CNN World*, 12 May 1998, http://articles.cnn.com/1998-05-12/world/9805_12_india.wrap_1_india-and-pakistan-arms-race-moratorium-on-nuclear-explosions?_s=PM:WORLD (Accessed on 14/01/12).
[4] 'U.S. recalls ambassador to India', *CNN World*, 12 May 1998, http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/asiapcf/9805/12/clinton.india/ (Accessed on 14/01/12).

to the effort the international community is making to promulgate a comprehensive ban on such testing'.[5] Then Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, similarly remarked that the Indians had 'deceived' the United States by conducting the nuclear tests.[6] As expected, a series of economic and military sanctions were imposed on India in the aftermath of the tests. Despite Clinton's much acclaimed visit to India in March 2000, the bilateral nuclear despair continued. This was because normalisation of bilateral relations and a 'qualitatively closer relationship with India' was made contingent upon 'further progress on non-proliferation'.[7]

With the onset of the George W. Bush administration, this US nuclear policy of more than three decades was turned upside down as India was welcomed into the very same regime designed to make India a pariah. In a path breaking statement in July 2005, President Bush stated that 'as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other such states'.[8] The President further committed to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh that 'he will work to achieve full civil nuclear energy cooperation with India as it realizes its goals of promoting nuclear power and achieving energy security'.[9] He further added that he 'would also seek agreement from Congress to adjust U.S. laws and policies, and the United States will work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India, including but not limited to expeditious consideration of fuel supplies for safeguarded nuclear reactors at Tarapur'.[10] True to his promises, the US-India civil nuclear deal came to fruition in October 2008. Thus, the United States finally accepted India as a *de facto* if not a *de jure* nuclear weapons state.

[5] Kenneth J. Cooper, 'India Sets Off Nuclear Devices', *Washington Post Foreign Service*, 12 May 1998, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/southasia/stories/setoff051298.htm (Accessed on 22/07/15).
[6] Albright quoted in Chintamani Mahapatra, 'Pokhran II and After: Dark Clouds over Indo-US Relations,' *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 22, no. 5, 1998, pp. 711-720.
[7] Thomas R. Pickering, 'U.S. Policy in South Asia: The Road Ahead', address to the Foreign Policy Institute South Asia Program, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., 27 April 2000, http://www.bu.edu/globalbeat/southasia/Pickering042700.html (Accessed on 21/07/15).
[8] 'Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of India', 18 July 2005, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73912#axzz1dCoIrJVr (Accessed on 05/10/11).
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*

Observers like Sharon Squassoni, Michael Krepon, and P.R. Chari have aptly termed this as a 'controversial', 'revolutionary' and even a 'sweetheart' deal because it gave India the rights to trade in nuclear material, equipment, fuel, and technology without compromising on its nuclear weapons programme or being a part of NPT, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT).[11] In a media briefing on 25 March 2005, the US State Department officials proclaimed that the US goal is 'to help India become a major world power in the 21st century'. The official further added: 'We understand fully the implications of that statement, including military'.[12] With accolades for this new approach adopted by the Bush administration, criticism also followed at all levels as the non-proliferation enthusiasts expressed fears on weakening of the non-proliferation regime due to US double standards. In defiance of the critics, Nicholas Burns, Under Secretary of the State for Political Affairs from 2005 to 2008 and one of the main architects of this new policy, went so far as to claim that if this approach was considered as a system of double standards then, 'we're very proud to establish that double standard on behalf of a democratic friend'.[13]

The nuclear agreement in itself was a momentous accomplishment. However, a pressing issue is how the Clinton and Bush administrations were able to pursue dramatically different policies for India, which went from being represented as 'irresponsible' under Clinton to a 'responsible' nuclear country under Bush. The contrast in the approaches of these two administrations is

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[11] Sharon Squassoni, 'The U.S.'s Catastrophic Nuclear Deal with India: Power Failure', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 6 August 2007, http://carnegieendowment.org/2007/08/06/u.s.-s-catastrophic-nuclear-deal-with-india-power-failure (Accessed on 05/08/15). See, Michael Krepon of the Stimson Center, cited in Harold A. Gould, *The South-Asia Story: The First Sixty Years of US Relations with India and Pakistan* (New Delhi, India: Sage, 2010), p. 104. Prof. P.R. Chari cited in Carl Paddock, *India-US Nuclear Deal: Prospects & Implications* (New Delhi, India: Epitome Books, 2009), p. 78. Mark L. Maiello, 'The U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation Agreement: A controversial move', *Perspective*, March 2007, http://www2.ans.org/pubs/magazines/nn/docs/2007-3-2.pdf (Accessed on 05/08/15). Harsh V. Pant, *Contemporary Debates in Indian Foreign and Security Policy: India Negotiates its Rise in the International System* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 36.

[12] As quoted in R. Ramachandran, 'Changing Equations', *Frontline*, vol. 22, no. 8, 12-25 March 2005, http://www.hindu.com/fline/fl2208/stories/20050422002601300.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Also see, Op-ed by Ambassador David C. Mulford, 'The U.S. and India: Reaching New Heights', *The Wall Street Journal*, 18 July 2005, http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/article/2005/07/20050718144522dpnosmoht0.494392.html#axzz3jwJT7EVw (Accessed on 14/01/12).

[13] Nicholas Burns as quoted in David Ruppe, 'U.S. Acknowledges "Double Standard" on Indian Deal', *Global Security Newswire*, 12 April 2006, http://www.nti.org/gsn/article/us-acknowledges-double-standard-on-indian-deal/ (Accessed on 08/12/11).

clearly visible from the statements mentioned above. The overall objective of this thesis is to develop an understanding of how in such a short period of time US-India nuclear relations experienced such a transformation. As such, I seek to investigate how narrative identity and action integral to the temporal and spatial management of inside/outside was central to the 'self' – 'other' relations that resulted in respective administration's nuclear foreign policies towards India.

The main research question and the sub-questions that this thesis poses are:

To what extent George W. Bush administration's nuclear foreign policy marked a change from Bill Clinton administration's nuclear foreign policy towards India?

Sub-questions:

How state identity and foreign policy are interlinked?

What is the process that determines why certain narratives prevail over others?

What are great power narratives?

How central tropes around which representations of difference are articulated could be understood from an imperial angle?

How state identity through degrees of difference can be conceptualised?

Theory of narrative identity and foreign policy

The critical investigations into identity have led to reconceptualisation of ontological and epistemological assumptions of state identity. Hence identity is not only presumed to be a subtext of International Relations but is considered as an active ingredient through which security and diplomatic relations between and within countries come to be constituted. Identity is, therefore, the core characteristics of the state through which the disparate realities are merged into a coherent design of inside/outside, us/them, state/anarchy, and so on. However, to consider identity as 'the political' leads to myriad different questions in terms of how identities are negotiated and engendered, who are able to perpetuate particular forms of dominant interpretations, how are relations of race, class and gender negotiated and how these

in turn lead to ideas of security, one's identity, culture and history. With social constructionist ontology, critical constructivism concentrates on the sites of creating and stabilising particular realities which can be ascertained only via epistemology of discourse. A particular object attains significance only through language that gives meaning to the social world. Hence identity of the collectivity like a state cannot be construed as independent of the various discursive practices that produce it. Foreign policy, rather than being an external tool of the state, thus comes to be re-theorised as a discursive practice that engenders the state in its operation by creating and sustaining boundaries that separate *inside* from the *outside*.[14]

The enactment of US identity through foreign policy has received significant academic attention from a range of authors including David Campbell, Richard Jackson, and Roland Bleiker. In his path-breaking study, David Campbell elaborates that the internal/external nexus has been integral to the post-war American identity where domestic identity has been only possible through externalisation of threats such as the Soviet Union and the 'war of drugs'.[15] Richard Jackson also engages in analysing the construction of the 'war on terrorism' through public political language that insinuates the internal/external divide on acceptance of 'evil' terrorists out there and 'good' Americans who have the responsibility to exterminate the evil.[16] Similarly, Roland Bleiker elaborates on the threat-images in terms of 'axis of evil' and 'rogues' which is possible only through specialised discourse through foreign policy that sustain the US identity as 'good' versus North Korea as 'evil'.[17] Despite the breadth of critical investigation into US foreign policies, there is a surprising lack of attention on how US foreign policy manages the internal/external divide when dealing with non-rogues or pariahs, i.e., a

[14] David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).
[15] Campbell, *Writing Security*.
[16] Richard Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).
[17] Roland Bleiker, 'A Rogue Is a Rogue Is a Rogue: US Foreign Policy and the Korean Nuclear Crisis', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 4, July 2003, pp. 719-737.

democracy. In this context, this research focuses on US nuclear foreign policy to address the change in the post-Cold War US nuclear policies towards India.

First, this thesis questions the traditional assumptions of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) that conceive foreign policy as external to a pre-existing entity called a state. Rational-structural-material conceptualisations do not critically question the state identity as rational identity of the state is considered to be pre-given. These conventions give rise to largely unquestioned realist orthodoxy that understands state foreign policy as oriented towards the external world 'out there'.[18] Drawing from the conceptual model provided by David Campbell, this thesis seeks to problematise the assumptions of 'state' identity. If there is no originary or sovereign presence apart from the various discursive practices that constitutes it, then the state cannot be assumed as fixed or God-given force. Rather state identity is achieved through inscription of boundaries that 'demarcate an 'inside' from an 'outside', a 'self' from an 'other', a 'domestic' from a 'foreign".[19] Over the course of this thesis I will argue that foreign policy becomes redefined as a boundary-producing practice, which attains a performative dimension through which the state-effect is constituted. Identity and foreign policy are therefore linked as foreign policy becomes a medium for a collectivity like 'state' that can be domesticated through systematic construction of threats 'out there' in order to reinscribe the 'self' as a realm of peace.[20] The 'self' thus attains meaning or significance only through the relationship with myriad threatening other(s).

Secondly, drawing on Christopher Browning's theoretical concepts of narrative identity and action I further argue that action becomes meaningful only in the context of constitutive stories of the self.[21] While Browning draws from theoretical and conceptual models developed by

[18] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 38 and p. 53.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
[21] Christopher S. Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis: A Case Study of Finland* (Oxford: Peter Lang Publishers, 2008).

David Carr[22], Calvin Schrag[23], Erik Ringmar[24], and Paul Ricoeur[25], narrative identity and action basically expounds that in a disparate and confusing world beyond the control of an individual or collectivity, it is only through narrating stories about the 'self' that it becomes possible to establish a sense of belonging, order and security vis-à-vis the self's social environment. As Browning notes, it is only through a linear story of who we were in the past up until the present that narrative framework is created wherein experiences become intelligible to ourselves and others hence future action becomes meaningful. It is through the process of emplotting the self in the constitutive stories that differentiate self from other(s) it becomes possible to attribute meaning to the social world.[26] More importantly, the temporal aspect of subjectivity attains significance as identity emerges in space and time only in a relational setting. If meaning attains significance only within the symbolic world of culture and language, then the identity of any given state remains open to contention. This is because meaning-making practices in terms of 'who we are' and 'where we are going' attains resonance only within shared socio-linguistic contexts. Narratives thus create a *sense of self* in time and space as regular connections are made between the past, the present, and the future where disparate events and facts are connected and re-connected to give order or semblance to the subjective identity.[27] The positioning of identity within constitutive stories at any given time delimits the boundaries of what can be said within the historical contexts and meanings present in that time.[28] Ultimately, this is what Campbell also ascribes to when he evaluates that the identity of a particular state should be understood as 'tenuously constituted in time…through *a stylized repetition of acts*', and achieved, '*not* [through] *a founding act, but rather a regulated process*

[22] David Carr, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).
[23] Calvin Scharg, *The Self after Postmodernity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).
[24] Erik Ringmar, *Identity, interest and action: A cultural explanation of Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[25] Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative: Volume 1* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983).
[26] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 46.
[27] Margaret R. Somers, 'The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach', *Theory and Society*, vol. 23, no. 5, 1994, pp. 605-649.
[28] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 11.

of repetition'.[29] These regulated acts of repetition are the narratives of primary and stable identity. Consequently, *identity* becomes central to the analysis of foreign policy in the sense that it is no longer seen as what cognitivists term as 'intervening variable' or thin constructivists term as 'intrinsic'.

Thirdly, I draw upon the theoretical concept of 'power' as elaborated by Chris Browning, Roxanne Doty and Jutta Weldes.[30] If representations of reality are not given nor guaranteed, but lived all the same it follows that they can be challenged and changed. Meaning(s), if derived through narratives of subjectivity are a social concern then it involves each and every person in the presumed collectivity. The 'self' as a narrative construct emerges from the margins of hegemonic discourse of what can be represented, but also in what is left without or beyond representation.[31] Narratives that represent a particular self in cartographies of multifarious historical transformations depict the possibility of conditions for the definition of the 'state' to emerge.[32] An inscription of 'we-ness', which is usually utilised as a tool of rhetorical device to speak on behalf of a particular collectivity, is thus laden with power because there is just not one story to tell – rather, myriad numbers of 'we' compete to get preponderance within a discursive economy.

Fourthly, since this thesis deals with nuclear relations between a dominant power (the US) and a subordinate power (India) the analytical focus therefore takes into account the great power-rising power encounters and subsequent effects on interactive identity formations, which are inherently 'political' by nature. I draw upon theoretical concept of great power identity and great power narratives as developed by Alister Miskimmon, Ben O' Loughlin and Laura

[29] David Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 10.
[30] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, pp. 51-57. Roxanne Lynn Doty, *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). Jutta Weldes, 'Constructing National Interests', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1996, pp. 275-318.
[31] Teresa De Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), cited in Maria Tamboukou, 'A Foucauldian approach to narratives', pp. 102-121, in Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire, Maria Tamboukou eds., *Doing Narrative Research* (London: Sage Publications, 2008).
[32] Tamboukou, 'A Foucauldian approach to narratives', p. 106.

Roselle.[33] Characteristics associated with a great power in the dominant narratives of international system or order include an emphasis on sovereignty (independence of action), leadership (structuring the system), and responsibility (to others).[34] Great power narratives enable an understanding of how the status of a great power is defined and determined vis-à-vis other(s) within the dominant interpretations of international order. More importantly, the national and the international identity of a great power can be determined as inter-linked.

Fifthly, the focus on great power narratives leads to such questions as; what are the organising elements of great power narratives? Especially, what kinds of linguistic articulations ensue and how these could be best defined through current narrative terminology? Here, I argue that postcolonialism with its focus on imperialism provides a tool to locate relations of identity/difference on the spectrum of 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender'. Thus, great power narratives are articulated around terminologies that build upon and reformulate relations of identity/difference through inequalities in race, political economy, gender. Imperialism guides attention towards the representations of reality that are still predominantly negotiated through Eurocentric ways of thinking. The demarcations of 'self' and 'other' in imperial encounters thus sustain terminologies of good/bad, civilised/uncivilised, developed/underdeveloped, masculine/feminine, West/East, and North/South whereby the former is always located at a spatial and a temporal point towards which the latter could only progress. The conceptualisation of identity/difference from an imperial angle gives credence to the knowledge practices that form an integral part of the production of the western self, both materially and politically, in the postcolonial world.[35] By focusing on Lene Hansen's

[33] Alister Miskimmon, Ben O' Loughlin, Laura Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order* (New York: Routledge, 2013). Laura Roselle, *Media and the Politics of Failure: Great Powers, Communication Strategies, and Military Defeats* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). Andreas Antoniades, Alister Miskimmon and Ben O'Loughlin, 'Great Power Politics and Strategic Narratives', Centre for Global Political Economy at the University of Sussex, Working Paper No. 7, March 2010, https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=cgpe-wp07-antoniades-miskimmon-oloughlin.pdf&site=359 (Accessed on 29/12/14).

[34] Miskimmon, O' Loughlin, Roselle, *Strategic Narratives,* p. 33.

[35] Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, 'Retrieving the Imperial: Empire and International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Relations*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2002, pp. 109-127. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York:

theoretical model of 'degrees of difference' I argue that identity/difference in race, political economy, and gender in great power-rising power encounters involves utilisation of temporal and spatial themes in terms of progression and stasis. Hence it can be argued that the self-other relations are not only based on 'radical otherness' but also 'otherness'.[36] Radical otherness entails a negative othering in terms of absolute non-progression towards the self, whereas, otherness can involve positive othering whereby the capacity of the other to progress towards the self-ideal is recognised. However, in both cases of otherness the self remains superior, and therefore, relations of identity/difference are constituted only through inequalities. The overarching argument of this thesis is that US identity as constituted through great power narratives was based on the degrees of difference that utilised inequalities in race, political economy, and gender thus influencing the course of Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations' nuclear foreign policies towards India. The theory of narrative identity and action directs attention towards the historically contingent nature of US identity which attains legitimacy through great power narratives that constitute the US sense of self as connected to the global nuclear order. It is through these narratives that India as the 'other' came to be judged and identified consequently leading to prescriptive policy actions that sustained and reinstated a sense of US great power 'self'.

Existing literature does not explicitly concentrate on critical investigations in terms of problematising US and Indian identity in the context of US-India bilateral nuclear relations. Structural-materialist viewpoints as presented by Daniel Twinning[37], David S. Chou[38], Dilip

Pantheon, 1978). Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994). Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1984).

[36] Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006). Hansen largely draws from Todorov's *Conquest of America*, mainly how Cortes and Lass Casas diverged in their treatment of the Indian 'other'. For detailed elaboration see Chapter Two of this thesis.

[37] Daniel Twinning, 'America's Grand Design in Asia', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2007, pp. 74-94.

[38] David S. Chou, *U.S. Policy Toward India and Pakistan In the Post-Cold War Era*, Paper based on U.S. Policy Toward South Asia in the Post-Cold War Era (Taipei: Sheng-Chih Book Co. Ltd., 2003), http://www2.tku.edu.tw/~ti/Journal/8-3/832.pdf (Accessed on 04/01/12).

Mohite[39], Sumit Ganguly and Andrew Scobell[40], C. Raja Mohan[41], Rahul Bhonsle[42], Teresita C. Schaffer[43], and Tom Sauer[44] varyingly utilise explanations that range from US strategy to balance China, US attempts to attain global dominance, and selective partnership with India – all made possible only after the end of the Cold War due to the change in structural conditions that enabled both nations to reorient their foreign policies. The structural-materialist account consider the links between state identity and foreign policy practices as being of minimal importance, for states are considered to be like units in terms of self-interest and power-maximisation, i.e., rational entities.[45] Consequently, from this perspective, states are presumed to be ahistorical and apolitical, which necessarily lack insight into the contingent nature of socio-political and historical processes.[46] This is especially pertinent in the context of the substantive topic of this thesis as structural-material factors were similar during both Clinton and Bush administrations, i.e., the end of bipolarity, the rise of China, and the liberalisation of the Indian economy and opportunities available for trade. Secondly, although cognitive explanations have been take into consideration by authors like George Perkovich[47], William C. Potter[48], and Leonard Weiss[49] through elaboration on the ideas and beliefs of each administration, cognitive perspectives again fail to take into account the constitutive force of

[39] Dilip Mohite, 'India-US Nuclear Deal: Security Dilemma and Beyond', in Nalini Kant Jha ed., *Nuclear Synergy: Indo-US Strategic Cooperation and Beyond* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2009).
[40] Sumit Ganguly and Andrew Scobell, 'India and the United States: Forging a Security Partnership?', *World Policy Journal*, vol. 22, no. 2, 2005, pp. 37-43.
[41] C. Raja Mohan, *Impossible Allies: Nuclear India, United States and the Global Order* (New Delhi: India Research Press, 2006).
[42] Rahul Bhonsle, 'U.S. Strategic Engagement of India: The Underlying Theme of the Indo-U.S. Nuclear Agreement', in Rahul Bhonsle, Ved Prakash, and K.R. Gupta eds., *Indo-U.S. Civil Nuclear Deal* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 2007).
[43] Teresita C. Schaffer, 'Building a new partnership with India', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2002 pp. 31-44.
[44] Tom Sauer, 'Drivers behind the Nuclear Deal with India: US Domestic Politics or Geostrategic Concerns?', *Politicologenetmaal*, 27 May 2010, http://soc.kuleuven.be/web/files/11/72/W16-115.pdf (Accessed on 10/12/11).
[45] Jim George, *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), pp. 2-15.
[46] David Howarth, Aletta Norval, and Yannis Stavrakakis, eds., *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis: Identities, hegemonies and social change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 7.
[47] George Perkovich, 'Global Implications of the U.S.-India Deal', *Daedalus*, vol. 139, no. 1, 2010, pp. 20-31.
[48] William C. Potter, 'India and the New Look of US Nonproliferation Policy', *Nonproliferation Review*, vol. 12, no. 2, July 2005, pp. 343-354.
[49] Leonard Weiss, 'US-India Nuclear Cooperation', *Nonproliferation Review*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2007, pp. 429-457.

language and how the 'self' is constituted in historically contingent social settings rather than simply reflecting the world 'out there'. Thirdly, while democratic identity is considered to be an important determining factor in US-India nuclear relations by authors like Jarrod Hayes[50], C. Taylor[51], and Selina Adam Khan[52], identity becomes an independent variable intrinsic to the US and thus leads to strictures in terms of explaining US nuclear policies over a period of time. It is essential to take into consideration that US and India have always been democracies, yet their relations have remained far from cordial for most part of the history.

Departing from extant studies on the topic, my research seeks to build upon narrative identity and action. Rather than examining the external events that affect the policy-making, I argue for the need to investigate internal dimensions of how 'India' as an object was problematised and represented under each administration and, in turn, how the nuclear subjectivity of the US came to be constituted in a historically contingent social setting. Narrative approach guides attention towards production of particular texts at specific point of time. It is crucial to analyse what was being said in reference to a particular object that re-established a particular sense of self in time and space. In order to analyse the narratives of actors under Bill Clinton administration and George W. Bush administration, I particularly focused on the primary texts available in the form of statements before the senate and the house, press statements, reports to the congress, speeches, governmental reports and debates, National Security Council (NSC) reports as well as declassified material. Documentary and archival research at the Clinton Presidential Library and the Library of Congress facilitated access to most of this material and databases respectively, during which I could download newspaper reports, statements and congressional

[50] Jarrod Hayes, 'Identity and Securitisation in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergences of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 4, 2009, pp. 977-999.
[51] C. Taylor, 'Profitable Partners: Theorising the relationship between India and the United States since the end of the Cold War', 2010, http://www.southasia.ox.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/37019/Taylor,_C_MSc_thesis_June_2010.pdf (Accessed on 18/04/12).
[52] Selina Adam Khan, 'The realist/constructivist paradigm: U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan and India', *Reflections*, no. 8, 2010, http://issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/1298970931_92329003.pdf (Accessed on 03/12/11).

records. Thus an analysis of public political discourse, especially for the Bill Clinton administration was possible only through archival research and online access to some crucial material. Moreover, the George W. Bush administration's public political discourse was mostly available on governmental websites. The US-India nuclear deal was identified with a regime change, and hence, discourse over the period of 2001-2009 proliferated that mainly aimed at justifying the deal. The breadth of material available signified the sheer effort by the Bush administration to pursue alternative policy scenarios vis-à-vis nuclear India. In this context, the theory of narrative identity and action can elicit certain hitherto unknown facts on nuclear policy-making leading to a greater understanding of the topic. Thus my research intends to explore these processes whilst making an original contribution to the literature.

Outline of the thesis

The main aim of this thesis is to theorise state identity and foreign policy from a narrative perspective which enables attention to be given to the unstable nature of state identity in the context of intersubjective processes. I argue that state subjectivity remains open to re-negotiation, and hence, foreign policy is integral to the formation and sustenance of a particular identity. In making sense of self, actors evaluate, negotiate, and debate the ideals of self, however, they are also constituted at the same time since narrative can be initiated only within a socio-historical context. Great power and rising power encounters are thus imbued with power as inequalities are perpetuated through self/other relations. The chapters in the thesis are thus contoured around these main theoretical arguments.

Chapter One undertakes a literature review of the available material on US-India nuclear relations. The question of state identity is investigated via a discussion of level-of-analysis, wherein neorealism (systemic level), neoliberalism (state level), bureaucratic politics (domestic-political level), ideological disposition (individual level), level-of-analysis (systemic, state, individual levels) and constructivism/neoliberalism/realism (multiple theoretical levels) are evaluated against their ability to handle identity related issues. It is

argued that at all these levels identity either remains unaccounted for or is considered as an independent variable, which in turn leads to an ontological presumption of identity as a given and not something volatile and imbued in the contests of narrative power.

Chapter Two considers the theory and methodology of foreign policy from a critical constructivist viewpoint through a focus on narratives and state identity. First and foremost, the role of the *language in use* is considered wherein language assumes its own constitutive force. Narratives are constitutive of the world where identity can arise only through intersubjective processes. It is argued that since identity is considered to be unstable it can only occur in relations of time and space; likewise, because the meaning is only obtained through difference in any language, it is argued that identity relations are thus imbued with politics of difference in time, space and power respectively. It is illustrated that narrative power entails the ability to articulate and fix meanings through which subjects, objects and social relations are represented in a particular meaning on which action is then based. To speak on behalf of 'We', therefore, is to partake in engendering narrative power. Moreover, it is also argued that great power narratives specifically are about states and systems in terms of 'who we are' and 'what kind of system we want'. The postcolonial perspective of imperialism as an organising principle then gives a useful insight into how these great power narratives are organised around relations of race, political economy, and gender through which inequalities are routinely drawn in order to create difference. Foreign policy forms a matrix of heterogeneous discursive practices through which emplotment of the self in the narrative process is undertaken. In creating difference through foreign policy which works as a textual medium, the difference should be construed in form of *degrees of difference* that entails *radical otherness* and *otherness*. While the former leads to a complete negation of other's identity, the latter leads to recognition that the 'other' has the ability to transform and attain 'self-ideal'. In terms of methodology, the focus is therefore on intertextuality as political debates and speeches are given precedence in foreign policy literary corpus.

Chapter Three examines the creation of American nuclear subjectivity through Atoms for Peace during the period 1951-1960. The chapter sets a focus for the rest of the empirical chapters as through this chapter it becomes easier to identify that US nuclear subjectivity has always been historically constituted. It traces the construction of productive and positive American nuclear subjectivity through an analysis of four master great power narratives that are identified as a result of my analysis: (a) Establishing 'peace' in an atomic age; (b) A 'democratic' country standing for 'freedom'; (c) Advancing 'science' of the atom for world 'betterment'; (d) Ensuring 'economic progress' of the world. The trajectory of these narratives culminates in a role for the United States in maintaining a peaceful global nuclear order through encouraging the constructive and not the destructive potential of the atom. The narrative thus mainly focuses on West-East continuum where the latter, as represented by the Soviet Union, is depicted to be the realm of violence, totalitarianism and destruction. Consequently, nuclear America attains significance of a non-threatening nuclear power. The problematisation of 'America' as connected to nuclear identity leads to appreciation of counter-narratives that aimed to undo the official dictum.

Chapter Four then leads to a historical analysis of US nuclear policy towards India from 1947-1992. It is argued that US nuclear policy towards India during the Cold War was guided by identity driven rhetoric through which US nuclear subjectivity came to be invoked much more clearly and became a driving force in the management of US nuclear relations with India. The supremacy of US self as country with advanced scientific capability and developed economy was re-established as the nuclear potential of India 'other' was debated. The chapter also argues that the construction of India-Pakistan unstable deterrence led to restructuring aspects of the subcontinental security dilemmas around the development of India and Pakistan's nascent weapons programme. In the constitution of self/other, the West-East divide was now supported by a North-South divide leading to a reinforcement of NPT-led global nuclear order. The chapter also delves into counter-narratives since US identity as a 'peaceful' nation was

challenged on many occasions. Nevertheless, official narratives retained predominance as various constructions from counter-narratives were challenged and even incorporated through narrative power.

Chapter Five then traverses into the post-Cold War period taking into consideration the Bill Clinton administration's nuclear policy vis-à-vis India from 1993-2001. The chapter highlights the debates surrounding the great power narratives that in turn entailed consequences for the conduct of nuclear foreign policy. These five great power narratives are: debating 'Hindu radicalism' and its propensity to practice peace; the geopolitical, cultural, and economic dimensions to US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence; 'greatness' in relation to the Clinton administration's understanding of democratic principles that define America; a 'struggling' economy on to the path of reforms; a 'second-tier' state's quest to demonstrate 'technological prowess'. The American nuclear subjectivity tied inextricably to the global nuclear order thus comes to be renegotiated through relations of difference in race, political economy and gender, as West-East continuum and North/South divide was again re-appropriated to engender self through relations of 'radical otherness' and 'otherness'.

Chapter Six undertakes an evaluation of the George W. Bush administration's nuclear policy from 2001-2009. The revaluation of the nuclear role in connection to the NPT, led to the reconstruction of Westernising narratives where 'America' was now increasingly connected to counter-proliferation. Rather than reflecting the natural Western identity as progressive and developed, it is argued that it came to be constructed through debates in the great power narrative sites of: proclaiming Hindu civilisation's inclination for peace; India-Pakistan 'de-hyphenation': US and India in a temporal dimension; bringing democratic India 'from periphery to the center of the NPT': the geopolitical and cultural dimensions of democratic India; encouraging 'reforms' to sustain India's rapid economic growth; 'helping' and 'assisting' India: US assistance in renewable technologies to sustain growth. The emphasis on

'otherness' as opposed to 'radical otherness' led to a situating of American identity through re-evaluation of the past, present and future.

Chapter Seven culminates with an evaluation of self/other relations in race, political economy, and gender as per the analytical spectrum of *degrees of difference*. The chapter demonstrates that the respective nuclear policies of both administrations entailed a negotiation between *radical otherness* and *otherness* as the spatial and temporal themes are utilised through identities of race, political economy and gender to maintain inequalities.

The thesis argues that the US nuclear subjectivity is retrospectively determined by the concerns of the present or what alternatively Paul Ricouer terms as the 'retroactive re-alignment of the past'.[53] The past, therefore, always remains open to reappraisal as the actors attempt to form a sense of self in the present through which the future also gets negotiated. The historical evaluation of the Clinton and Bush administrations demonstrates that American 'selfhood' is a contestable term, is imbued with narrative power, and is re-defined in interactions with counter-narratives. The thesis thus sets a narrative context for the US conduct towards India through a much required concentration on the combined theoretical principles of critical constructivism and postcolonialism.

[53] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative: Volume. 1*, p. 147.

Chapter One

Re-theorising Foreign Policy

Introduction

Extant literature on US-India nuclear relations largely draws on contending mainstream IR theories and variables producing a rich set of multidisciplinary debates. The purpose of this chapter is to identify some of the assumptions underpinning the existing literature when analysing the US nuclear posture vis-à-vis India. The literature review addresses US-India nuclear relations according to the analytical understanding of different theoretical levels within IR, where each level is located at a particular analytical parameter to account for the state's foreign policy decisions. These levels could be located anywhere along the spectrum of *macro* or *micro* level theories or the combination of both. As understood here the levels are; neorealism (systemic level), neoliberalism (state level), regionalist-functionalist divide (domestic-political level), neoconservative ideological disposition (individual level), level-of-analysis (systemic, state (national), and individual levels) and finally an integrated approach of constructivism/neoliberalism/realism (multiple theoretical levels). After critically reviewing these theoretical and methodological viewpoints, I elaborate on how each theory deals with the concept of 'state identity' and its relation to the 'foreign policy' and in what manner it restricts the ability to account for the transformation of US nuclear engagement from Clinton to Bush. Next I analyse the available material on narratives, postcolonial identity, and US foreign policy, in order to ascertain how narrative identity construction within the parameters of postcolonial understandings have been dealt with in the wider literature. The chapter concludes by elaborating on how the narrative identity approach concentrating on *US identity as constructed through difference* in 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender' in unequal terms through great power narratives, fills the existing gap in the literature by transcending these levels. The trajectory adopted allows for an in-depth engagement with all the major works in IR on postcolonial identity, narratives, US foreign policy, and US-India nuclear relations.

Level-of-analysis

Substantive studies have been undertaken to address the change in US nuclear foreign policy towards India as a result of the US-India civil nuclear deal. This section presents the main views as per the analytical spectrum of level-of-analysis in order to critically analyse these theoretical viewpoints.

Neorealism (systemic level)

Neorealism, as a theoretical tool, has been utilised by scholars since the Cold War years to analyse US foreign policy postures. No doubt the resiliency of neorealism as a scientific theory has also led mainstream scholars to employ it when examining the change in US policy towards India, particularly focusing on the structural-material factors and the US attempts to preserve its 'position' within the international system. Albeit scholars do differ to varying degrees in their conceptualisations of the US material intentionality and where exactly it seeks to preserve its position within the system, i.e., regionally or globally.

In their article length studies, Daniel Twinning[1], David S Chou[2], and Dilip Mohite[3] observe that the growing military ties between India and US, and the renewed nuclear engagement, are a result of US strategy to balance China by developing India as a 'counterweight'. This ensures India's long term growth whilst strengthening its nuclear arsenals assuring a much better balance in the region, thereby allowing US to maintain its position in the Asia-Pacific regional order. Similarly, John Garver claims that the US move towards reconciliation and compromise with India over nuclear issues displays the dynamics of a strategic triangle between US-China-India as all three are trying to adjust to the new structural constraints.[4] These theoretical

[1] Twinning, 'America's Grand Design in Asia', *The Washington Quarterly*.
[2] Chou, *U.S. Policy Toward India and Pakistan In the Post-Cold War Era*.
[3] Mohite, 'India-US Nuclear Deal: Security Dilemma and Beyond', in Nalini Kant Jha ed., *Nuclear Synergy: Indo-US Strategic Cooperation and Beyond*.
[4] John W. Garver, 'The China-India-U.S. Triangle: Strategic Relations in the Post-Cold War Era', *NBR Analysis*, vol. 13, no. 5, 2002, pp. 295-350.

assertions add to the emerging literature on US and China's mutual hedging tactics in the Asia-Pacific region as each tries to reassert its position.[5]

According to this literature, the rise of China is an important element in US-India nuclear relations. The US construes India as a potential partner that could maintain regional balance and therefore nuclear concessions are a part of this strategy. However, in a quest to give a structural account for US strategy, the authors overlook some angles; for instance, with China now the largest trading partner of India,[6] both have embarked upon the policy of 'constructive engagement' and India is not eager to join the US in an anti-China consortium.[7] How this factor figures in US calculation has not been elaborated upon. Essentially, the studies establish analytical boundaries and just focus on China as the only factor which necessarily dissolves the need to account for other factors that guided US foreign policies during the Bush administration. Limitations are thus observed in these studies in terms of accounting for transformation from Clinton to Bush.

Not surprisingly, some authors have pinpointed the primacy of structuralist-materialist factors that have altered the US-India nuclear engagement, but do not limit US goals to regional dominance. These authors claim that the US nuclear compromises are symptomatic of the US attempts to achieve global dominance in post-Cold War and particularly post-September 11

[5] For more on US hedge against China see, Evan Medeiros, 'Strategic Hedging and Future of Asia-Pacific Stability', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2005-06, pp. 145-167. Also see, John G. Ikenberry, 'American hegemony and East Asian order', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 58, no. 3, 2004, pp. 353-367. James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, 'China and the United States in the Indian Ocean: An Emerging Strategic Triangle?', *US Naval War College Review*, 2008, pp. 41-60, http://www.usnwc.edu/getattachment/75c4e264-64f2-4b4f-b5ff-8f09ad5d8ccf/China-and-the-United-States-in-the-Indian-Ocean--A (Accessed on 07/10/11). Ashton B. Carter and Jennifer C. Bulkeley, 'America's Strategic Response to China's Military Modernization', *Harvard Asia Pacific Review*, http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~hapr/winter07_gov/carter.pdf, (Accessed on 04/11/11). Evelyn Goh, *Meeting the China Challenge: The U.S. in Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies* (Washington D.C.: East-West Center, 2005).

[6] See, 'China has become India's largest trade partner in South Asia', *The Economic Times*, 10 March 2012, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2012-03-10/news/31143050_1_bilateral-trade-trade-ties-india-and-china, (Accessed on 27/06/12).

[7] George Perkovich, 'Faulty Promises: The US-India Nuclear Deal', *Policy Outlook*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006, p. 6, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/PO21.Perkovich.pdf (Accessed on 21/10/11). Perkovich expounds that India with its history of 'non-alignment' will see the benefit of maintaining good relations with both China and US. Also see, Robert Hathaway, 'The US-India Courtship: From Clinton to Bush', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2002, pp. 6-31, p. 22.

world. Sumit Ganguly and Andrew Scobell[8], Annpurna Nautiyal[9], Dheeraj Kumar[10] Harsh Pant[11], Ajey Lele and Archana Mishra[12], C. Raja Mohan[13] primarily view the deal in terms of creating a 'global partnership' whereby it was in the interest of the US to see India's 'integration' and 'consolidation' into the global order so that India could assist the US in meeting transnational challenges of global terrorism, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, economic trade promotion, the promotion of democracy, and to secure sea lanes of communication in the Indian Ocean, in addition to balancing China. In an effort to establish a new integrated world where like-minded global allies are essential, these authors argue it was best for the United States to remove the nuclear issue once and for all. Pant claims that the nuclear deal with India is indicative of the fact that India's importance as an ally in the emerging 'global security structure' is increasingly being acknowledged by the US.[14] Similarly, Nautiyal notes, keeping in purview that India could assist the US in its global responsibilities, the Bush administration sought to remove the nuclear impediment.[15]

These studies do have their shortcomings however. No evaluation is available on what motivated the United States to negotiate the deal even when it was acknowledged that India

[8] Ganguly and Scobell, 'India and the United States: Forging a Security Partnership?', *World Policy Journal*, see p. 37 and 42.
[9] Annpurna Nautiyal, 'Current Trends in India-US Relations: Hopes for a Secure Future', *Strategic Insights*, vol. V, no. 4, Center for Contemporary Conflict, 2006, http://www.nps.edu/Academics/centers/ccc/publications/OnlineJournal/2006/Apr/nautiyalApr06.pdf (Accessed on 24/11/11). Also see, Annpurna Nautiyal, 'The Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal: What is There?', *Strategic Insights*, vol. VII, no. 4, Center for Contemporary Conflict, 2008, http://www.nps.edu/Academics/centers/ccc/publications/OnlineJournal/2008/Sep/nautiyalSep08.pdf (Accessed on 24/11/12).
[10] Dheeraj Kumar, 'The US-India Nuke Deal: US Needs and Ambitions', *Strategic Insights*, vol. VII, no. 4, Center for Contemporary Conflict, 2008, http://www.nps.edu/Academics/centers/ccc/publications/OnlineJournal/2008/Sep/kumarSep08.pdf (Accessed on 15/09/11).
[11] Harsh Pant, 'The US-India Nuclear Deal: The Beginning of a Beautiful Relationship?', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2007, pp. 455-472.
[12] Ajey Lele, and Archana Mishra, 'Indo-US Strategic Partnership: Beyond the Nuclear Deal', *Asia-Pacific Journal of Social Sciences*, no. 1, 2010, pp. 96-108.
[13] C. Raja Mohan, *Impossible Allies: Nuclear India, United States and the Global Order* (New Delhi: India Research Press, 2006).
[14] Pant, 'The US-India Nuclear Deal: The Beginning of a Beautiful Relationship?', p. 458.
[15] Nautiyal, 'Current Trends in India-US Relations: Hopes for a Secure Future', p. 5.

would not always be forthcoming in matters of global cooperation.[16] The fact remains that there is no 'convergence' between both countries on how to deal with terrorism and other global matters.[17] Yet again, analytically, the structural-material accounts fail to address the change in the US nuclear engagement and restrict analyses only to address developments under the Bush administration.

Neorealist understandings are also employed by authors like Teresita Schaffer[18], Rahul Bhonsle[19], Muhammad Tayyab Khan[20], Amitabh Mattoo[21], and Devin T. Hagerty[22] who scrutinise US-India strategic and nuclear convergence in terms of partial alliance creation defined in varying terms such as 'selective partnership', 'cooperative engagement', 'strategic partnership', 'pragmatic partnership', and 'entente' which both countries have been able to forge, due to their foreign policy 'reorientation' following the end of the Cold War. Wherever possible, they seek mutual gains via cooperation in specific areas such as nuclear relations to redefine the South Asian regional order. In this manner, both countries have managed to create flexible agreements on various issues whilst maintaining strategic independence. The advantage of this theoretical conceptualisation is that it allows the authors to place nuclear related developments between US and India as part of a limited cooperation strategy rather than a full-fledged partnership. This approach, therefore, addresses the shortcomings of the

[16] For more on this issue see, Deepa Ollapally, *US-India Relations: Ties that Bind*, The George Washington University, Washington D.C., The Sigur Center for Asian Studies, 2005, http://www.gwu.edu/~sigur/assets/docs/scap/SCAP22-Ollapally.pdf (Accessed on 09/11/11).
[17] For further evaluation on this issue see, Ollapally, *US-India Relations: Ties that Bind*, p. 3 and p. 6. Also see, 'Discussion on the Unanimous Resolution relating to the war in Iraq, Lok Sabha', India's Lower House of Parliament, New Delhi, 8 April 2003, http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/exclusive/iraq/resolution.html (Accessed on 04/02/12).
[18] Schaffer, 'Building a new partnership with India', *The Washington Quarterly*.
[19] Bhonsle, 'U.S. Strategic Engagement of India: The Underlying Theme of the Indo-U.S. Nuclear Agreement'.
[20] Muhammad Tayyab Khan, 'The Geopolitical Dimensions of Indo-US Nuclear Deal', *Policy Perspectives*, vol. 3, no. 2, http://www.ips.org.pk/global-issues-and-politics/1019-the-geopolitical-dimensions-of-indo-us-nuclear-deal.html (Accessed on 09/11/11).
[21] Amitabh Mattoo, 'Striking a Balance', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 40, no. 35, 2005, pp. 3815-3818.
[22] Devin T. Hagerty, 'Are we present at the creation? Alliance theory and the Indo-US strategic convergence', in Sumit Ganguly, Brian Shoup, and Andrew Scobell eds., *US-Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21st Century: More Than Words* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 11-37.

above analyses which focus exclusively either on balancing China or US global ambitions after September 11.

In either case, the fundamental question of change in the US nuclear engagement from Clinton to Bush is still not addressed. In essence, the structuralist-materialist factors are held as overarching objective conditions to which the states respond. On the whole, the analysis is restricted to the systemic level which, necessarily, drowns the need to account for individual nuclear related developments under the concerned administrations.

Neoliberalism (state level)

The concept of 'complex interdependence' has its roots in the utilitarian view in which individual actors pursue their own interests by responding to political-economic incentives. Based on the precepts of 'absolute' gains, it was possible for the liberal thinkers to assert that economic incentives were as important as military ones, and therefore, in inter-state relations economic factors could become an overriding force.[23]

Adopting these neoliberal principles, Tom Sauer claims that China comprises an important 'explanatory' variable mainly in the longer term, but in shorter term, the economic potential of India is more important in 'absolute' terms. This leads the author to conclude that the economic motivations are more pertinent when explaining the changes in US nuclear posture, as the deal was basically a result of domestic pressure by various business groups and the nuclear industry within the US.[24] This adds a new facet in terms of US-India nuclear relations not being explicitly guided by politico-military but economic factors. Through the neoliberal conception of complex-interdependence, Sauer expertly summarises the economic motivations as one of the US foreign policy goals whilst not completely ignoring the importance of India's potential

[23] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 'Power and Interdependence Revisited', *International Organization*, vol. 41, no. 4, 1987, pp. 725-753, see p. 729. Also see, Robert O. Keohane, Joseph S. Nye, 'Power and Interdependence in the Information Age', *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 1998, vol. 77, no. 5, pp. 81-94.
[24] Sauer, 'Drivers behind the Nuclear Deal with India: US Domestic Politics or Geostrategic Concerns?', pp. 14-17.

as a balancer to China in the longer term. Sauer's analysis adds to the wider literature on primacy of economics in US external relations, especially in the Asia-Pacific.[25]

Neoliberal accounts do specify the economic potential of the deal; however, the material factors comprise objective conditions in foreign policy and do not necessarily give a satisfactory account for the change in the US nuclear engagement. Materiality was also one of the guiding factors defining Clinton administration's foreign policy goals as specified by the policy of 'engagement and enlargement'. India was engaged economically, through this policy, but not at the expense of US nuclear policies.[26] Overall, the structural-material factors displayed constancy under both the Clinton and Bush administrations which create doubts on their causal impacts on US nuclear engagement with India.

Many critics have therefore claimed that domestic-political and ideational factors are equally important in defining US nuclear preferences. In essence, internal dynamics are more important than external factors when it comes to studying US nuclear postures. The following sections consider these claims.

Bureaucratic politics (domestic-political level)

Bureaucratic politics approaches to foreign policy mainly elaborate on the fact that a government is not a single unit but is crisscrossed by the interests and preferences of various groups that compete to shape particular governmental foreign policy preferences.[27] Centred on

[25] John Ravenhill, 'US economic relations with East Asia: from hegemony to complex interdependence?', in Mark Beeson ed., *Bush and Asia: America's evolving relations with East Asia* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 42-63. Richard E. Feinberg, 'The Political Economy of United States' Free Trade Arrangements', *The World Economy*, vol. 26, no. 7, July 2003, pp. 1019-1040.

[26] Robert M. Hathaway, 'Confrontation and Retreat: The US Congress and the South Asian Nuclear Tests', *Arms Control Today*, January/February 2000, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000_01-02/rhjf00 (Accessed on 18/02/12).

[27] Graham T. Allison, and Morton H. Halperin, 'Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications', *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations*, vol. 24, Spring 1972, pp. 40-79. Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Longman, 1999).

these principles, Edward Gibdon Lanpher[28], Walter Anderson[29], Janne E. Nolan[30], Gaurav Kampani[31], and Sumit Ganguly[32] claim that the US nuclear engagement with India is largely determined and shaped by the political competition between the 'functional' bureaus whose job was to advance global goals like non-proliferation, human rights and environmental policies, and the 'regional' bureaus who preferred maintenance of decent bilateral relations as their main foreign policy goals. The authors draw upon a variety of sources categorised as interviews, press releases and officials' statements to support these claims. Methodologically, through this theoretical conceptualisation, Gaurav Kampani notes that the Clinton administration's post 1998 foreign policy towards India 'straddled' both approaches as the administration tried to achieve the more modest goal of 'corralling' India's nuclear capabilities in order to balance the demands of both the bureaus.[33] Based on the findings of a study group which included key officials from the Clinton administration, Janne E. Nolan notes that South Asia was dubbed as a 'theme park for the functional bureaus'. The sanctions imposed on India after the 1998 tests were mostly counterproductive but were mainly in place to appease the functional bureaus.[34] The dynamics of the functionalist-regionalist divide is perhaps best summarised by Sumit Ganguly as he observes:

> Those advocating a strategy of technology denial see India through the narrow and parochial prism of non-proliferation. When the country was viewed by policy-makers as poor, weak, and strategically irrelevant, the arguments of such 'functionalists' inside the American foreign policy and national security apparatus could trump the arguments of the 'regionalists' arguing for a more mature, multifaceted, and flexible bilateral

[28] Edward Gibdon Lanpher, 'South Asia: Back to Basics', Strategic Forum 170, Institute for National Strategic Studies, 2000, http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ada394720 (Accessed on 14/02/12).
[29] Walter Anderson, 'U.S. Foreign Policy toward South Asia: A Continuing Tilt to the Functional', in Lloyd I. Rudolph, and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *Making U.S. Foreign Policy Towards South Asia: Regional Imperative and the Imperial Presidency* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2008), pp. 77-100.
[30] Janne E. Nolan, 'India, Pakistan, and American Nuclear Diplomacy', Diplomacy and Security in the 21st Century', Working Group Report, No. II, 5 June 2007, https://isd.georgetown.edu/sites/isd/files/Diplomacy_and_Security.pdf (Accessed on 14/02/12).
[31] Gaurav Kampani, 'Living with India's Bomb: In Praise of Indifference', A Paper by James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, 2001, http://cns.miis.edu/other/indbomb.pdf (Accessed on 21/01/12).
[32] Sumit Ganguly, 'Giving India a Pass', *Foreign Affairs Online*, 2005, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64238/sumit-ganguly/giving-india-a-pass (Accessed 03/10/11).
[33] Kampani, 'Living with India's Bomb: In Praise of Indifference', p. 4.
[34] Nolan, 'India, Pakistan, and American Nuclear Diplomacy, Diplomacy and Security in the 21st Century', p. 11. Also see, Janne E. Nolan, 'Diplomacy and Security in the Twenty-first Century', Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, George Washington University, Washington D.C., 2009, p. 63, http://isd.georgetown.edu/files/Diplomacy_and_Security.pdf (Accessed on 16/02/12).

> relationship. Now that India has risen in importance, the regionalists have gained the upper hand (as they always have had, for example, with regard to Israel).[35]

Rather than structural-material factors guiding the US nuclear engagement with India at the systemic and the state level, bureaucratic politics theories largely contend that the internal domestic-political makeup of US governmental machinery is more important in determining the nuclear postures of the respective administrations towards India. In essence, the change occurred as the functionalists who were dominant under the Clinton administration were subordinated to the regionalists as the Bush administration came to power. The above studies add to a wider literature of bureaucratic effects on US foreign policy-making towards particular nations and regions.[36] Nevertheless, these studies do display a tendency to overly concentrate on the competition between different bureaus neglecting the crucial question of how the elites within both the administrations, especially the Presidents and the Secretaries of the State, were selectively able to heed some demands of the bureaus whilst ignoring others to reach the respective foreign policy goals in relation to India. Since the bureaucratic preferences are dealt with in an objective manner, the subjective interpretations of the elites on particular issues are not considered. Therefore, the bureaucratic politics is cited as a causal factor but how preferences were formed in relation to nuclear India during both administrations is left unaccounted for.

Not ignoring the importance of the domestic-political level, few studies have shifted their focus to the individual level where ideas are considered to have a substantial effect on US nuclear engagement with India.

[35] Ganguly, 'Giving India a Pass', *Foreign Affairs Online*.
[36] Nick Ritchie, *US Nuclear Policy after the Cold War: Russians, 'rogues' and domestic division* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000). David Mitchell and Tansa George Massoud, 'Anatomy of Failure: Bush's Decision-Making Process and Iraq War', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2009, pp. 265-286. Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen Jr., *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Ideological disposition (individual level)

Ideology is commonly understood as 'a set of closely-related beliefs or ideas, or even attitudes, characteristics of a group or community'.[37] Ideological studies largely gauge the effects of individual actors and leaders' values, norms, ideas and beliefs on their foreign policies. Few authors focus on the beliefs of the key personnel in foreign policy who regarded undisputed US *power* and *hegemony* as the *sine qua non* for a more peaceful world. The proponents of this view construe US nuclear policies as being fundamentally guided by neoconservative beliefs of Bush administration who subordinated the non-proliferation objectives to other US foreign policy considerations. George Perkovich[38], William C. Potter[39], Leonard Weiss[40], and Michael Cohen[41] note that according to the neoconservatives, the role of the NPT was usually considered 'instrumental' as opposed to 'universal' in moral terms. Thus it could be manipulated to suit the strategic needs of US in the post-Cold War international order. George Perkovich claims that the nuclear deal has to do less with India and more with the higher echelons of the Bush administration where neoconservatives like Ambassador Robert Blackwill, State Department Counsellor Philip Zelikow, Advisor Ashley Tellis, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley believed that the rules of the NPT failed to deter illicit activities while constraining the military power potential of law-abiding states like US and India.[42] Perkovich concludes that for the administration, a state's 'friendliness' towards United States was above specific behaviours such as their nuclear conduct or policy.[43] Likewise Leonard Weiss suggests, that the Bush administration explicitly

[37] Michael Howard, 'Ideology and international relations', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 15, no.1, 1989, pp. 1-10. Mark L. Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
[38] Perkovich, 'Global Implications of the U.S.-India Deal', *Daedalus.* For Bush nuclear policies and their international effects see, George Perkovich, 'Bush's Nuclear Revolution. A Regime Change in Nonproliferation', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 2, 2003, pp. 2-8.
[39] Potter, 'India and the New Look of US Nonproliferation Policy', *Nonproliferation Review*.
[40] Weiss, 'US-India Nuclear Cooperation', *Nonproliferation Review*.
[41] Michael Cohen, 'India and the NPT: Power, Legitimacy and Legality', in Huntely Wade and Karthika Sasikumar eds., *Nuclear cooperation with India: New Challenges, New Opportunities* (Vancouver: Simons Centre for Disarmament and Non-proliferation Research, 2006), pp. 90-98.
[42] Perkovich, 'Global Implications of the U.S.-India Deal', pp. 22-23.
[43] *Ibid.,* p. 23.

guided by neo-con ideology, was more interested in identifying which countries 'constituted as a nuclear threat to US national security rather than whether they contributed to strengthening the international proliferation regime'.[44] Though India was not an ally, its outlook towards US was considered to be 'friendly' in light of which her nuclear weapons posed no direct threat to the US security.[45]

The overall aim of these studies is to highlight that, as opposed to structural-material or domestic-political factors, the US nuclear conduct vis-à-vis India was increasingly defined according to the 'top-down' administrative directive. Although these studies make an important contribution as they mainly concentrate on elite beliefs, they restrict analyses only to Bush administration. A comparable evaluation on what set of beliefs guided the Clinton administration's nuclear approach towards India is not available. Also, ideology works as a causal variable in these studies whereby, these studies face similar methodological constraints like the bureaucratic politics when explaining how and why certain elites were able to operate as they do. Since a comparable evaluation of both administrations is not available, it severely constraints our ability to understand the transformation in US nuclear engagement vis-à-vis India.

As we have seen, therefore, each of the contending theories endeavours to answer the changing nature of US nuclear engagement by understanding it from a particular viewpoint and through a particular set of analytical tools. Nevertheless, their attempts to restrict analysis come at a cost of ignoring other forms of explanations that may also be important. Neorealism, by focusing exclusively on the systemic level, tends to overlook the domestic-political and individual levels, whereas neoliberalism tries to maintain a balance but overrides structural determinants in favour of material factors at the state level. The bureaucratic political model and the ideological explanation similarly tend to neglect structural-material factors, by

[44] Weiss, 'US-India Nuclear Cooperation', p. 434.
[45] *Ibid.*

considering domestic-political and individual levels to ascertain US nuclear preferences/behaviour. Few studies have attempted to overcome these epistemological and ontological shortcomings of the above theories by integrating levels. These can be classified as level-of-analysis where systemic, state, and individual levels have been incorporated to give a wholesome account for changing nature of US nuclear engagement and multiple theoretical levels where more than one theoretical paradigm has been applied to escape analytical constraints.

Level-of-Analysis (systemic, state, individual levels)

Level-of-Analysis in IR is a methodologically oriented foreign policy analytical tool which questions the authenticity of basing the foreign policy studies on a single causal factor either at system, state, or individual levels. Bruce D. Berkowitz notes in his article length study of level-of-analysis that according to David Singer:

> …each level of analysis offered a different perspective to the analyst, and that, though one had to be careful in making inferences from one level to another, each perspective had its own advantage and could be used to analyze a given class of events.[46]

US nuclear engagement with India and the subsequent agreement is also subjected to this form of analysis due to the very nature of its complexity by analysts like Harsh Pant[47], Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly[48], and K.P. Vijayalakshmi[49] merging the intra/inter disciplinary debates and the micro and the macro levels. Harsh Pant claims that the US-India civilian nuclear pact is a result of complex 'bilateral' foreign policy negotiations, therefore he argues that the level-of-analysis approach is best suited when examining the bilateral civil nuclear deal pact by

[46] J. D. Singer, 'The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations', in K. Knorr and S. Verba eds., *The International System: Theoretical Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), cited in Bruce D. Berkowitz, 'Level of analysis problems in International Studies', *International Interactions: Empirical and Theoretical Research in International Relations*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1986, pp. 199-277, see p. 222.
[47] Harsh V. Pant, 'The US-India Nuclear Pact: Policy, Process, and Great Power Politics', *Asian Security*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2009, pp. 273-295. Also, same analysis is presented in his book, Harsh V. Pant, *The US-India Nuclear Pact: Policy, Process and Great Power Politics* (Oxford: OUP, 2011).
[48] Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly, 'The Transformation of U.S.-India Relations: An Explanation for the Rapprochement and Prospects for the Future', *Asian Survey*, vol. 47, no. 4, 2007, pp. 642-656.
[49] K.P. Vijayalaksmi, 'Evolution of Indo-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation', in Nalini Kant Jha ed., *Nuclear Synergy: Indo-US Strategic Cooperation and Beyond* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2009), pp. 43-62.

concentrating on systemic, state (national), and individual levels. At the systemic level Pant adopts a neorealist understanding of US and India 'recalibrating' their foreign policies in order to balance China. At the state level, Pant concludes that the Bush administration redefined the parameters of bilateral engagement by holding its ground in the ensuing clash with the Congress. Lastly, the author notes that the role played by key individuals like President Bush, US Secretary of the State Condoleezza Rice, and Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns has been crucial in the trajectory of the Indo-US nuclear pact.[50] Likewise, Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly claim that development at all three levels have facilitated Indo-US 'rapprochement' in the nuclear domain.[51] K.P. Vijayalaksmi also observes that a structural shift was important as a causal force, but only the sustained dialogue during both administrations allowed the countries to develop 'mutual' understanding on nuclear related matters.[52]

Essentially then, by combining all the variables at three levels, the above analyses provide a multifarious account for the US nuclear engagement with India. These contend that the foreign policy-making of the US is not determined by any single factor but is a result of an amalgamation of all three levels. The extra dimensions of state (national) and individual levels, focusing on the fundamental contribution of the Bush administration within the Congress and the motivations of the key officials, leads to a greater understanding of the reasons that led the Clinton and the Bush administrations to differ in their respective approaches despite similar structural constraints. The approach places the above studies within the growing literature on eclectic viewpoints on foreign policy analysis and this perspective is increasingly utilised by scholars due to its propensity for providing denser accounts for the foreign policy decisions.[53]

[50] Pant, 'The US-India Nuclear Pact: Policy, Process, and Great Power Politics', pp. 276-281 and 283-285.
[51] Kapur and Ganguly, 'The Transformation of U.S.-India Relations: An Explanation for the Rapprochement and Prospects for the Future', pp. 648-652.
[52] Vijayalaksmi, 'Evolution of Indo-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation', p. 49.
[53] Jean A. Garrison, 'Foreign Policymaking and Group Dynamics: Where We've Been and Where We're Going', *International Studies Review*, vol. 5, no. 2, 2005, pp. 155-202. Glenn H. Snyder, *Conflict among Nations: Bargaining, Decision-making, and System Structure in International Crises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

However, causality remains the underlying ontological basis of the level-of-analysis approach, as agent-structure dynamics are considered to be non-falsifiable.

Constructivism/neoliberalism/realism (multiple theoretical levels)

In order to explore the US nuclear postures in relation to India, two or more theoretical schools have been amalgamated by some authors to account for the importance of both cultural-ideational and material factors in US foreign and security policies. Jarrod Hayes[54], C. Taylor[55], and Selina Adam Khan[56] have developed their analysis in this context to escape theoretical parsimony. In his article length study, Jarrod Hayes engages with a dynamic model by integrating democratic peace and constructivism with a focus on securitisation as an analytical-tool to avoid analytical parochialism.[57] By focusing on the role of 'identity language' in the securitisation process, the author contends that 'democratic' identity is integral to the process of US security policy construction. Thus the author argues that the desecuritisation of the Indian nuclear programme was based on an argument that US need not fear a 'fellow democracy'.[58] The article also adds to scholarship that has utilised democratic peace theory, constructivism and securitisation when analysing US foreign policy postures.[59] By combining the schools of neoliberalism and constructivism, C. Taylor claims, the deepening Indo-US strategic and nuclear ties are a result of 'complex-interdependence' underscored by 'ideational' convergences. The author notes that the US-India nuclear deal predominantly demonstrated the

[54] Hayes, 'Identity and Securitisation in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergences of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs', *International Studies Quarterly*.
[55] Taylor, 'Profitable Partners: Theorising the relationship between India and the United States since the end of the Cold War'.
[56] Khan, 'The realist/constructivist paradigm: U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan and India', *Reflections*.
[57] Hayes, 'Identity and Securitisation in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergences of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs', p. 979.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 986-988.
[59] See, Mark Peceny, 'A Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Peace: The Ambiguous of the Spanish-American War', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 34, no. 4, 1997, pp. 415-430. Ido Oren, 'The Subjectivity of the Democratic Peace: Changing U.S. Perceptions of Imperial Germany', *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 2, Fall 1995, pp. 147-184. Wesley W. Widmaier, 'The Democratic Peace is What States Make of It: A Constructivist Analysis of the US-Indian 'Near-Miss' in the 1971 South Asian Crisis', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2005, pp. 431-455. Jarrod Hayes, 'Securitisation, Social Identity, and Democratic Security: Nixon, India, and the Ties That Bind', *International Organization*, vol. 66, no. 1, January 2012, pp. 63-93.

economic/business motives, however, the nuclear and the economic ties were enhanced because the US does not perceive rising India to be a threat due to its democratic credentials.[60] Doubting the sole credibility of democratic convergence, Selina Adam Khan combines both constructivism and realism and concludes that both 'ideas' and 'material' interests are intertwined when explaining the changing nuclear preferences of United States towards India. India's 'democracy' would not have attracted any attention without the incentives of booming economy that could balance China.[61] This evaluation underscores the fact that the idea of a democracy does not suffice when it comes to US relations with India. Both ideational and material factors have to be considered in tandem when looking at foreign policy negotiations.

The contending theories above provide their own unique viewpoints on US nuclear engagement with India as defined by various foreign policy goals the US wishes to pursue. Quintessentially, the literature clearly marks out that the US nuclear engagement with India has to be viewed within a larger picture of broad US strategic interests. Each of these theories is located at a particular level with a concentration on the combination of structural-material, domestic-political, individual levels or the multiple theoretical levels. The next section examines how each contending theory faces a limit in analysing the transformation of nuclear engagement from one administration to another. The discussion seeks to establish the concept of US (state) *identity* which is produced and reproduced through foreign policy that is manifested through great power narratives.

The assumptions of 'state identity' and 'foreign policy' in contending IR approaches

When, ontologically, the 'state' is conceived as being produced through narratives where identity from a postcolonial angle in unequal terms is produced and reproduced, it has consequences for both epistemology and methodology of the 'foreign policy research'. The following section undertakes a review of the ontological assumptions of each theoretical

[60] Taylor, 'Profitable Partners: Theorising the relationship between India and the United States since the end of the Cold War', p. 9.
[61] Khan, 'The realist/constructivist paradigm: U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan and India', p. 21.

outlook and the epistemological viewpoints they adopt when dealing with the concept of 'state identity' as connected to 'foreign policy'. The aim is to tease out the limits they subsequently face in terms of explaining the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations nuclear policies towards India.

Neorealism, neoliberalism and state identity-foreign policy

The concept of the 'state' is the primary ontological starting point for both realists and neorealists in IR albeit they do differ on the extent to which a state can act with independence in anarchic conditions. Therefore, state identity in terms of clear demarcation between inside/outside and a singular unit operating in international relations are the basic conceptions of both schools. For realism, domestic society remains important in terms of individual leaders and their perceptions, however, all these different components work towards the centralisation of national interests through which a state maintains its political autonomy and territorial integrity. Based on what are taken to be the characteristics of human nature, i.e., self-centred and self-interested, each state tries to secure its own autonomy in the anarchic conditions.[62] Therefore the questions of state identity in realism are an unquestioned motif automatically construed in egoistic terms. Neorealism however gives precedence to systemic (structural) attributes over the state (unit) which are normally assumed to be 'like' units differentiated only by distribution of capabilities within the international system.[63] Intrinsic values of the states are of no importance, only differentiation according to the distribution of capabilities determined by the overall structure are relevant. Moreover, structure of the international system works as a constraining force on states disposing them towards certain actions as these states endeavour to maintain their security vis-à-vis the other state(s).[64] States, in neorealism, are

[62] Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggles for Power and Peace*, 7th ed., (New York: McGraw Hill, 1978). E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001). Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). Aron Raymond, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966). John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2001).
[63] Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1979), pp. 96-97.
[64] *Ibid*., pp. 93-98.

therefore unitary sovereign-rational actors within a given international system, striving to maintain their positions through optimisation of relative gains. Essentially then, neorealism works on the premise of *state-as-actor* model where each state must be treated as an unproblematic unity: an entity whose existence, boundaries, interests, capacities and constituencies can be treated as given. States are thus endowed with *a priori* rational identities which must be taken as ultimate source of meaning and effective source of agency.[65] Consequently, foreign policy remains indeterminate for neorealism, as outcomes at inter-state level are taken to be a result of systemic pressures to which the states respond. The questions of narrative, state identity and its relation to foreign policy-making are therefore of minimal importance to neorealism.

The studies that employ neorealist understandings to ascertain the nuclear developments between India and the US, do not interrogate the narrative construction of US identity. Instead authors like Daniel Twinning[66], David S. Chou[67], John Garver[68], Sumit Ganguly and Andrew Scobell[69], Annpurna Nautiyal[70], Dheeraj Kumar[71], Harsh Pant[72], Ajey Lele and Archana Mishra[73], C. Raja Mohan[74], Teresita Schaffer[75], Rahul Bhonsle[76], Muhammad Tayyab Khan[77], Amitabh Mattoo[78] and Devin T. Hagerty[79] assume the 'US' as a cohesive whole in universal rational terms, and base their analysis on US and India as readdressing balance-of-power in accordance to the objective post-Cold War systemic requirements. According to Twinning, in

[65] Richard K. Ashley, 'The Poverty of Neorealism', *International Organization*, vol. 38, no. 2, 1984, pp. 225-286, see pp. 238-239.
[66] Twinning, 'America's Grand Design in Asia'.
[67] Chou, *U.S. Policy Toward India and Pakistan In the Post-Cold War Era*.
[68] Garver, 'The China-India-U.S. Triangle: Strategic Relations in the Post-Cold War Era'.
[69] Ganguly and Scobell, 'India and the United States: Forging a Security Partnership?'.
[70] Nautiyal, 'Current Trends in India-US Relations: Hopes for a Secure Future'. Also see, Nautiyal, 'The Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal: What is There?'.
[71] Kumar, 'The US-India Nuke Deal: US Needs and Ambitions'.
[72] Pant, 'The US-India Nuclear Deal: The Beginning of a Beautiful Relationship?'.
[73] Lele and Mishra, 'Indo-US Strategic Partnership: Beyond the Nuclear Deal'.
[74] Mohan, *Impossible Allies: Nuclear India, United States and the Global Order*.
[75] Schaffer, 'Building a new partnership with India'.
[76] Bhonsle, 'U.S. Strategic Engagement of India: The Underlying Theme of the Indo-U.S. Nuclear Agreement'.
[77] Khan, 'The Geopolitical Dimensions of Indo-US Nuclear Deal'.
[78] Mattoo, 'Striking a Balance'.
[79] Hagerty, 'Are we present at the creation? Alliance theory and the Indo-US strategic convergence'.

face of rising China, the US has strengthened two pillars of its Cold War-era regional security posture; its 'hub-and-spoke' system of bilateral military alliances and its 'forward-deployed' military forces.[80] To these two pre-existing pillars of its Asian security strategy, US has added the third important pillar which is specifically designed to create a 'hedge' against the danger of Chinese hegemony, eventually, leading the US 'to accelerate the economic and military rise of key Asian states with the power potential and ambitions to constrain China's ability to dominate its region'.[81] India neatly fits within this peripheral category, resultantly accruing nuclear gains. Dilip Mohite also opines, US has developed a policy of 'hegemony without territory' in the post-Cold War order, wherein any challenges to its position will be dealt by creating a regional balance of power. In this situation, the strengthening of India's nuclear capability should be seen in the context of 'promoting India to balance China which serves the interests of both India and US in the area of security'.[82] In defining a mixture of balance-of-power and cooperative engagement, Rahul Bhonsle too has observed, that the importance of India as primary power in South and Central Asia has been recognised by the US in the post-Cold War environment. The US nuclear posture thus has to be seen in the larger backdrop of long-term strategic engagement that will bring India and US closer in economic as well as security fields.[83] As the countries have successfully managed a close alignment, Hagerty claims that US was aware of India's potential amidst the new structural configuration in post-Cold War strategic environment. Resultantly, the Clinton administration sought to engage India economically and the Bush administration reinvigorated the relations in economic, strategic, and nuclear realms.[84] These studies therefore explicitly build on *a priori* assumptions of a rational state identity situated within the anarchy/state dichotomy, and hence, aspects like constitutive relationship between US identity, great power narratives and foreign policy have

[80] Twinning, 'America's Grand Design in Asia', p. 79.
[81] *Ibid*., pp. 79-80.
[82] Mohite, 'India-US Nuclear Deal: Security Dilemma and Beyond', p. 85.
[83] Bhonsle, 'U.S. Strategic Engagement of India: The Underlying Theme of the Indo-U.S. Nuclear Agreement', p. 29.
[84] Hagerty, 'Are we present at the creation? Alliance theory and the Indo-US strategic convergence', pp. 20-24.

no appeal. Essentially, neorealism by prioritising a structuralist account as needed for the scientific inquiry completely overrules the subjective understandings on the state in the sense that the state has no ontological status apart from the various acts that constitute it.[85] This consequently leads to stricture in terms of explaining why there was a difference in the concerned administrations' nuclear policies despite similar systemic conditions. What this thesis seeks to do, by contrast, is to problematise the notion of state identity in terms of self/other relations which can be gauged through degrees of difference.

On a similar note, neoliberalism incorporates neorealist principles where anarchy and state are considered as the primary derivatives of IR. A slight deviation however appears only in the understanding of gains, as neorealism focuses on 'relative' but neoliberals focus on 'absolute' gains.[86] Nevertheless, the importance of transnational and transgovernmental relations, which are the basic pillars of neoliberal understandings of complex-interdependence, make sense only when they are logically and historically interpreted as having prior roots within state-bounded societies.[87] The spatial and temporal identity of the state therefore remains constant for neoliberalism as well. A state remains the dominant actor in international relations with its foreign policy displaying the hierarchy of issues on state's agenda. Tom Sauer for instance, in his analysis elaborates that with the Indian economy moving in 'capitalist waters' after the Cold War, both US and Indian business communities were looking for business opportunities. This required a revision of US nuclear policy in order to provide a hospitable climate for inter-state economic interactions so as to fulfil the wider foreign policy agendas.[88] Because systemic and economic conditions were similar during both Clinton and Bush administrations, the neo-neo debate does not satisfactorily account for change in US nuclear foreign policy. Both neorealism and neoliberalism foreground US-India nuclear engagement in power-shift and

[85] Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Political Identity*, p. 10.
[86] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1977), p. 22-25.
[87] Richard K. Ashley, 'Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1988, pp. 227-262, see p. 236.
[88] Sauer, 'Drivers behind the Nuclear Deal with India: US Domestic Politics or Geostrategic Concerns?', pp. 13-14.

instrumental conceptualisations without problematising state identities. US nuclear foreign policy thus remains restricted to instrumentality as opposed to subjective understandings of foreign policy as being intrinsically related to narrative identity construction.

Bureaucratic politics and state identity-foreign policy

Whilst bureaucratic political models tend to give importance to internal as opposed to external constraints on the state decisions and policy-making, the question of state identity constitution is nevertheless neglected. Allison and Zelikow concentrate on the Governmental/Bureaucratic political model wherein decision-making is best understood as bargaining among the actors involved in decision-making processes at intra-governmental level.[89] Therefore the state's foreign policy preferences are based on the outputs of many different organisations/bureaus each working according to their standard preference of behaviour. However, this does not *displace* the central notion of sovereign state.[90] Bureaucracy becomes a part and partial of the hierarchical orders that the state imposes within its borders which universalises the notion of a territorially integrated state.[91] Even if the decisions of the state are determined by the dominant bureaus, bureaucratic politics represents the state as a universal singular figure in its foreign relations. The notions of state identity formation on the basis of relational difference are therefore evacuated, as bureaus in-fact become the symbolic dimension of the power of the state.

Consequently, studies that incorporate the regionalist-functionalist divide as a determining force influencing the US nuclear posture towards India include positivist assumptions without problematising the settled nature of US identity. Gaurav Kampani[92], Janne E. Nolan[93], Edward Gibdon Lanpher[94], Sumit Ganguly[95] and Walter Anderson[96] work on the premise of objective

[89] Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis,* p. 143.
[90] Ashley, 'Untying and Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', p. 245.
[91] Pierre Bourdieu, Loic J.D. Wacquant, and Samar Farage, 'Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field', *Sociological Theory*, vol. 12, no. 1, March 1994, pp. 1-18, see p. 11.
[92] Kampani, 'Living with India's Bomb: In Praise of Indifference'.
[93] Nolan, 'India, Pakistan, and American Nuclear Diplomacy'.
[94] Lanpher, 'South Asia: Back to Basics'.
[95] Ganguly, 'Giving India a Pass'.
[96] Anderson, 'U.S. Foreign Policy toward South Asia: A Continuing Tilt to the Functional'.

evaluations by portraying the different preferences of regional and functional bureaus to be the causal force functioning as suboptimal units within the US governmental machinery. According to Edward Gibdon Lanpher, the US foreign policy towards South Asia was hostage to single 'issue-trap'. The functionalist got the upper hand under the Clinton administration and as a result issues like non-proliferation, democracy and human rights distorted the overall approach towards South Asia.[97] Similarly, Janne E. Nolan expounds that US foreign policy was usually marred by 'singular' agendas of the functionalists which proved costly for the overall approach towards India, despite the fact that the regionalists were much better equipped for dealing with South Asian regional issues and nuclear matters.[98] As noted earlier, Sumit Ganguly succinctly explains the change in US nuclear engagement as the Bush administration quickened the bilateral military-to-military contacts and weapons sale in accordance to the foreign policy preferences of the regional bureaus.[99] Thus there is an implicit acknowledgement in bureaucratic political perspective that the US nuclear engagement is largely defined by the foreign policy-making at a sub-state level. However, it necessarily overlooks the effects of these internal struggles on the constitution of US identity and how agents find themselves in certain discursive conditions which are always historically contingent. The attempt to re-inscribe US identity through representations of India as the 'other' by elites needs further academic consideration, in order to address how and why certain political considerations were made possible in each administration despite the similar over-arching domestic-political set-up.

Ideology and state identity-foreign policy

Ideological studies generally evaluate how individual belief systems affect foreign policy decisions necessarily creating a macro theory of foreign policy-making. The treatment of actors' views is often considered in positivist terms. Beliefs are seen as 'intervening variables'

[97] Lanpher, 'South Asia: Back to Basics', p. 3.
[98] Nolan, 'India, Pakistan, and American Nuclear Diplomacy', p. 11.
[99] Ganguly, 'Giving India a Pass'.

and not necessarily as meaningful references of the actors, i.e., the means by which they make sense of the objective world. Ideological beliefs are thus presented as just one of the many causal variables in foreign policy-making.[100] This standardisation of ideological beliefs as an externally imposed framework usually has the advantage of facilitating comparisons between different belief systems. Moreover, *language,* in these ideological studies is just considered to be a transparent medium and not a constitutive force which generates meaning in its articulation. By adopting an external perspective, ideology is often construed as a belief system of the dominant elites/class whose interests are reflected and to which the rest of the society or the governmental machinery adapts too.[101] Ideology thus denotes a universal rationality and a universal truth in opposition to something which is supposed to count as truth.[102] Ideological disposition of the US administrations in this sense is conceptualised in mechanical terms, divorced from narrative identity and its link to foreign policy. Identity is thus a neglected concept in these externally imposed ideological studies.

Since the external logic of neoconservative ideology is applied by analysts studying US nuclear engagement with India, they do not problematise the US identity. The analysis is only limited to gauging the influences of neoconservative values and beliefs on US foreign policy agendas. Narrative identity and its constitutive effect on foreign policy and vice-versa therefore remains an unexplored domain since the ideology is considered to be divorced from the issues of identity. For instance, William C. Potter identifies that one of the neoconservative strategies was to differentiate between the good and the bad proliferators and the Indian nuclear

[100] See, Mark L. Haas, *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics 1789-1989* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007). Mark L. Haas, *The Clash of Ideologies: Middle Eastern Politics and American Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Jie Chen, *Ideology in U.S. Foreign Policy: Case Studies in U.S. China Policy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1992). Ilan Peleg, *The Legacy of George W. Bush's Foreign Policy: Moving beyond Neoconservatism* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009). Claes G. Ryn, 'The Ideology of American Empire', *Orbis*, 2003, http://www.comw.org/gdr/fulltext.03ryn.pdf (Accessed on 17/02/12). J. Rosenau ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy – A Reader in Research and Theory* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

[101] Henrik Larsen, *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France Britain and Europe* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 7-10. Also see, Mark C. Stoddart, 'Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A Critical Review of Theories of Knowledge and Power', *Social Thought and Research*, vol. 28, 2007, pp. 191-225, see pp. 203-204.

[102] Paul Rainbow ed., *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought* (London: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 60.

'exceptionalism' was based on this outlook as it was considered to be a 'good' nation. In fact the Bush administration was not afraid to distinguish between 'friends' and 'foes'.[103] Whilst such observations are made by the author, they are mostly in positivist terms. How these peculiar articulations contributed towards the co-constitution of identities through great power narratives remains unaddressed. Leonard Weiss opines that due to the ideological characteristics of the Bush administration, institutional antipathy towards the arms control regimes was quite evident as most of the top personnel were sceptical towards the NPT and its efficacy in general[104]. Also, Perkovich notes that the neoconservative 'grand strategy' distinguished between those who were friends and who were not, enabling the Bush administration to selectively bend 'rules' of the NPT to accommodate India which was considered to be friendly.[105] Akin to Potter, these authors examine only the influences of neoconservative ideology on US foreign policy which in turn guided the nuclear policies of the US. Ideology is thus considered external to the narratives of the foreign policy, inevitably leading the analysts to assume a pre-discursive stable US identity. Ideology in this context proves to be more of an explanatory factor rather than a subjectivist interpretation. While ideology related theories focusing on cognitive precepts of individual perception and belief are efficient at explaining specific foreign policy decisions, it leads to some strictures in understanding foreign policy transitions over time. For instance, India was never considered a rogue but was always seen as 'democratic friend' by both Clinton and Bush administrations, yet these common perceptions and beliefs did not entail similar nuclear approaches vis-à-vis India.

Level-of-Analysis and state identity-foreign policy

The level-of-analysis approach has its roots in the Waltzian conception of Man (individual), State (national) and War (international system). These three categories are taken to be

[103] Potter, 'India and the New Look of US Nonproliferation Policy', p. 345.
[104] Weiss, 'U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation', p. 434.
[105] Perkovich, 'Global Implications of the U.S.-India Deal', p. 23.

straightforward and uncontentious causal explanations. The level-of-analysis works in a hierarchical order within logocentric understandings of man/state over the war/inter-state system domain. In essence, the hierarchical dimension of the categories of individual, state, and inter-state system ends up being as a spatial dimension between the state and the international system, i.e., inside/outside dichotomy.[106] Clear spatial demarcations are thus created via the level-of-analysis approach, as the state is assumed to have a foundational rational identity, which in inter-state systemic level comes to be considered as 'fixed'. According to Richard Ashley this came to be marked as a 'dismaying persistence', a 'striking sameness…through the millennia' – to which man and state must adapt lest they 'fall by the wayside of history'.[107] State identity, in level-of-analysis like the other theoretical approaches discussed so far, is not challenged or problematised.

Consequently, Harsh Pant[108], Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly[109], and K.P. Vijayalakshmi[110] by incorporating the levels-of-analysis to explain US-India nuclear relations, develop their analyses on the basis of positivist assumptions. The state is presumed to be a stable identity operating within the anarchical system. The role of individuals is subsumed to rationality for they operate within the domestic space predefined and ordained to serve the state. As a result, US foreign policy becomes an external orientation of an already universal state. Paul Kapur and Sumit Ganguly conclude that all three levels were critical; however, they give greater importance to economic liberalisation at the domestic level. They opine that the structural shift after the end of the Cold War allowed both the countries to alter their foreign and security policies. Moreover, at the state level the liberalisation process in India implemented in the

[106] R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 131 and p. 134.
[107] Richard K. Ashley, 'Living on Border Lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War', in James Der Derian and Michael J. Shapiro eds., *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1989), pp. 259-321, see p. 287.
[108] Pant, 'The US-India Nuclear Pact: Policy, Process, and Great Power Politics'.
[109] Kapur and Ganguly, 'The Transformation of U.S.-India Relations: An Explanation for the Rapprochement and Prospects for the Future'.
[110] Vijayalaksmi, 'Evolution of Indo-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation'.

1990s allowed the US to scrutinise India from the economic viewpoint of a strong emerging market. Finally, the authors identify that at the individual level, although the Clinton administration was largely unsuccessful in resolving nuclear related matters, Clinton's approach during the Kargil war helped in undoing the deep distrust between both countries. The nuclear agreement was a result of the continuation of this 'rapprochement' process.[111] Also, K.P. Vijayalakshmi notes that the alteration of US and Indian behaviour towards each other can be explained only through a composite 'theory of foreign policy' that incorporates structural, domestic and individual factors. Under Clinton administration, the US 'primacy' in the world politics was to be maintained through strengthening of the non-proliferation order, under Bush it was through the fulfilment of strategic interests.[112] As mentioned earlier, the *state-as-actor* model is still intact whilst foreign policy becomes a mere extension of the pre-established state. Therefore, as far as the 'level-of-analysis' metaphor is concerned in international relations, the argument of this thesis is to consider a level beyond the international, the state, and the individual which is necessarily concerned with narrative identity, representations, and postcolonial politics. In this context, the discussion is not about the US nuclear foreign policy per se. It is about conventional understandings of 'great power' that gave value to the representational practices associated with a particular problem.[113] This is especially important, as for both administrations maintenance of an overarching global nuclear order was of critical importance.

Constructivism and state identity-foreign policy

Ideas, values, norms, perceptions and culture are the starting ontological premise for constructivism that has effects on state identity which in turn defines how the interests are formed. As opposed to rationalist accounts that construe actors' (state) interests and preferences

[111] Kapur and Ganguly, 'The Transformation of U.S.-India Relations: An Explanation for the Rapprochement and Prospects for the Future', see pp. 643-648, 649-650.
[112] Vijayalaksmi, 'Evolution of Indo-US Civil Nuclear Cooperation', pp. 45-49.
[113] Campbell, *Writing Security*, pp. 37-38.

as exogenously determined, constructivists expound that state interests rather than exogenously given, are defined by ideational structures which construct the social identities which in turn form state interests.[114] 'Ideas' and 'identities' according to the constructivists are the basis of state interests which define their external relations with other countries and form specific foreign policy goals. However, the notion of state identity differs in 'thin' constructivism as opposed to 'thick' constructivism. In thin constructivism, identities are considered to be pre-social. Though, societal identities do get affected in interaction, some ideas, values and norms are already considered to be intrinsic to the actors' identities whether at a collective level or at an individual level. As a result, the relationship between state identity and foreign policy is presumed to be one of causality as 'ideas', 'norms' and 'identity' become independent variables replacing the 'material' interest as the causal factors.[115] Identity thus causes foreign and security policies as opposed to being constituted through linking and differentiation through narratives. The causal link has been retained in thin constructivism as it aspires to break free from the rationalist theories ontologically, yet maintain positivist epistemology to develop a general theory of the inter-state relations.

Jarrod Hayes[116], Selina Adam Khan[117] and C. Taylor[118] build their analysis according to the intrinsic understandings of state identity and its effects on foreign policy. Hayes for instance, starts with the constructivist notion of intrinsic 'democratic' identity and norms which shape

[114] Ted Hopf, 'The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory', *International Security*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1998, pp. 171-200. Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell, 2002). Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). John Gerard Ruggie, 'What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge', *International Organization*, vol. 52, no. 4, 1998, pp. 855-885. Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (Columbia: Taylor and Francis, 1989). Christian Reus-Smit, *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[115] Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, pp. 24-25. Also see, Charlotte Epstein, *The Power of Words in International Relations: Birth of an Anti-Whaling Discourse* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2008), p. 11.

[116] Hayes, 'Identity and Securitization in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergences of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs'.

[117] Khan, 'The realist/constructivist paradigm: U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan and India'.

[118] Taylor, 'Profitable Partners: Theorising the relationship between India and the United States since the end of the Cold War'.

the security policies of the US, as leaders have internalised these norms and identity shaping their perceptions of threat. Once the ontological starting point of the democratic identity is cleared, the author then proceeds on to the mechanism of securitisation to ascertain the role that identity language plays in US approach towards Iran and India. The claim is that the 'identity of India as a democracy and Iran as a non-democratic state holds the key for understanding US policy'.[119] Democratic identity is thus held constant under the Clinton and Bush administrations, through which the US security policy comes to be defined. The focus on unchanging democratic identity restricts the author's ability to explain the markedly different nuclear policies of Clinton and Bush administrations. Selina Adam Khan also faces similar problems as she proposes that both 'ideational' and 'material' incentives have caused the nuclear developments in US-India bilateral relations. C. Taylor, likewise contends that the 'idea of democracy itself is not the causal force of change' in US-India relations 'but the perception derived from common values is of more importance' and the US-India nuclear deal is a result of that.[120] Economic motives behind the deal are complemented by the underlying fact that the US does not perceive rising India as a threat. The ontological presupposition of US 'democratic' identity as intrinsic, leads to limitations when accounting for a change in US-India nuclear relations over a period of time. A conceptual focus on degrees of difference from an imperial angle is therefore needed.

While existing literature on US-India relations particularly lacks the great power narrative dimension to identity constitution, some studies are undertaken in relation to discursive analysis of US foreign policy. However, narrative identity with an emphasis on postcolonial degrees of difference has not received any attention.

[119] Hayes, 'Identity and Securitization in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergences of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs', p. 994.
[120] Taylor, 'Profitable Partners: Theorising the relationship between India and the United States since the end of the Cold War', p. 15.

Postcolonial identity, narratives and US nuclear foreign policy

Although a comprehensive review of work on discourse and US foreign policies is beyond the scope of this chapter, the following discussion focuses on studies that are most relevant to this research, i.e., those in the nuclear domain, especially the constitutive effects of narratives and discourses on US nuclear policies. Studies are demarcated into two categories: 1) those that specifically look at inter-state relations, and 2) those that consider internal developments within the US and their effects on national nuclear policies. The narratives as understood from a postcolonial angle and its application to the US identity, wherein identity is relationally constituted, has not received major attention. This could be due to the fact that US great power identity as inextricably linked to the global nuclear order has not received attention.

Focusing on the inter-state dimension of US nuclear policy, Uday Bhaskar provides the most relevant analysis in terms of the focus of this research. He critically analyses the nuclear narrative during Clinton's visit to India in March 2000 so as to ascertain its effects on the US policies in relation to India. The author summarises that India and its nuclear capability were largely viewed through a particular 'geo-political' filter wherein concerns for regional instability epitomised by India-Pakistan rivalry were paramount.[121] As a result, this narrative constrained the US policy options towards India. Although crucial, methodologically and empirically, this article does not problematise US nuclear identity or elicit how narratives perform the role of recreating 'stories' and 'plots' within which a 'state' identity gets negotiated through relations of difference. Hugh Gusterson applies Edward Said's conceptualisation of orientalism to critically examine the stabilisation of 'nuclear apartheid' in Western ideology through the dominant discourse of 'otherness' which separates the Third World from Western countries.[122] Hugh Gusterson critically examines how India, Pakistan and Iraq have been

[121] C. Uday Bhasker, 'Clinton's visit and the nuclear narrative', *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2000, pp. 207-219, see p. 217.
[122] Hugh Gusterson, 'Nuclear Weapons and the Other in the Western Imagination', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1999, pp. 111-143.

orientalised with imageries of 'women', 'criminals' and 'child' in US discourse establishing hierarchies of dominance.[123] Though important, the article does not incorporate a sustained evaluation on post-Cold War nuclear engagement of the concerned administrations with India. Nevertheless, the scripting of self through relations of difference in gender is important analytically. This thesis will incorporate an evaluation of identity/difference, however, the theoretical dimension of great power narratives as understood from the imperial degrees of difference leads to an appreciation of the intersubjective nature of identity. Rather than being static, relations of identity/difference in gender then can be conceived through radical otherness and otherness. Roland Bleiker, by studying empirically the US-North Korean nuclear interactions particularly during the 1993-4 and 2002-3 crisis, forwards a claim that the US nuclear foreign policy was exclusively designed on threat-images of 'rogues' transmitted through a specialised security and national defence discourse. This created North Korea as 'evil' and US as 'good' displaying an explicit link between foreign policy and US identity constitution.[124] Bleiker makes an important contribution by looking at foreign and security policy discourse of the elites within the Clinton and the Bush administrations, and how the threat image of 'evil rogue' guided US nuclear policies and interactions. This study is fundamentally important in the context of this research. However for Bleiker, 'rogue' state as a threat image remains the basis of his research. Since India was never considered to be a rogue state it will be interesting to learn what kind of identity scripts were generated in US nuclear foreign policy from a great power narrative perspective vis-à-vis India, co-constituting US nuclear engagement. David Campbell, Richard Jackson, and Stuart Croft, while not focusing on postcolonialism, directly address the interpretive nature of threat which is intrinsically linked to the definition of US 'self' or the identity of a western nation such as UK.[125] Each of

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.
[124] Bleiker, 'A Rogue Is a Rogue Is a Rogue: US Foreign Policy and the Korean Nuclear Crisis'.
[125] Campbell, *Writing Security.* Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism.* Stuart Croft, *Culture, Crisis and America's War on Terror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Stuart Croft, 'The evolutions of threat narratives in the age of terror: understanding terrorist threat in Britain', *International Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 4, 2010, pp. 821-835.

these studies, exclusively focus on identity claims in relation to threats represented in the domain of Cold War politics, drugs and society, and the 'war on terror'. An evaluation of how the western 'self' is sustained through projection of threats onto the 'third world', especially in the nuclear domain, remains underexplored. Also, the intersubjective nature of identity through the process of narratives and counter-narratives remains unexplored.

A second set of studies look at the discursive constitution of US arms control treaties and nuclear policies but mainly at the national level and not at the inter-state level and are not directly relevant to US-India nuclear interactions that this thesis seeks to address. Nina Tannenwald examines the creation of nuclear 'taboo' as a norm in the US, by studying the emergence of anti-nuclear movement from 1950s to 1980s. The discourse which was able to 'stigmatise' the nuclear weapons and how this taboo was gradually internalised by the policy-making circles as nuclear weapons were 'delegitimised' was central to the research.[126] The study builds on constructivist understandings providing a bottom-up approach of anti-nuclear movement to change the conventional understandings on acceptability of nuclear weapons. Likewise, Hugh Mehan and John Wills investigated the effects of MEND (Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament), an anti-nuclear group that attempted to redefine the US deterrence doctrine through employment of a 'nurturing' discourse which departed from the accepted technical-strategic language of Cold War conventions.[127] Also, David Meyer identifies the relationship between social movements and elite public discourse in the US. His analysis shows that different rhetoric like 'Open Skies' and 'Atoms for Peace' were used by the Presidents to assuage domestic public concerns about nuclear weapons, as elicited through the discourse of test ban, anti-ABM and nuclear freeze movements.[128] Hugh Mehan et al. look at the role of

[126] Nina Tannenwald, 'Stigmatizing the Bomb', *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 4, 2005, pp. 5-49. Nina Tannenwald, 'The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use', *International Organization*, vol. 53, no. 3, 1999, pp. 433-468.
[127] Hugh Mehan and John Wills, 'Mend: A Nurturing Voice in the Nuclear Arms Debate', *Social Problems*, vol. 35, no. 4, 1988, pp. 363-383.
[128] David Meyer, 'Framing National Security: Elite Public Discourse on Nuclear Weapons during the Cold War', *Political Communication*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1995, pp. 173-192.

'breaches' in Cold War nuclear conventions by empirically examining the Reagan administration's breach resulting from the promulgation of the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' and the possibility of a treaty to abolish nuclear weapons at Reykjavik in October 1986. These breaches were considered as responses from 'strategic analysts' to counteract efforts by the Catholic Church and the peace movements to define the nuclear question in moral terms.[129] Similarly, Glenn Hook studies the 'nukespeak', i.e., the role that nuclear discourse plays in structuring nuclear weapons as acceptable due to nuclear terminologies being increasingly used in the non-nuclear sphere.[130] The conception of 'language in use' has been utilised by Paul Chilton to critically analyse the 'Deterrence doctrine' by questioning the truth of deterrence discourse which could be understood as a 'dogma' with ideological and cultural underpinnings.[131] The common underlying ontological assumption of all these studies is to posit 'nuclear language' as an active political force composed of conventions of 'practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak'.[132] Hence, the interpretive nature of the world is emphasised. Nonetheless, the explicit link between narrative identity and foreign policy from an interdisciplinary critical constructivist and postcolonial angle remains underexplored. Especially, how state subjectivity and foreign policy are important for the constitution of the US state-effect as connected to the global nuclear order needs further explication.

A sizable number of studies have been undertaken on US nuclear conduct both inter-state and intrastate, but the construction of US identity through foreign policy where narratives become constitutive of identity, still remains to be explored in depth, especially from the dimension of

[129] Hugh Mehan, Charles Nathanson, and James Skelly, 'Nuclear Discourse in the 1980's: The Unravelling Conventions of the Cold War', *Discourse Society*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1990, pp. 133-165.
[130] Glenn Hook, 'Making Nuclear Weapons Easier to Live With', *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1985, pp. 67-77.
[131] Paul Chilton ed., *Language and the Nuclear Arms Debate: Nukespeak Today* (London: Frances Printer Publishers, 1985). Particularly see, William Van Belle, and Paul Claes, 'The logic of deterrence: a semiotic and psychoanalytic approach', and Paul Chilton, 'Words, discourse and metaphors: the meanings of *deter, deterrent* and *deterrence*'.
[132] Cited in Hugh Mehan, Charles Nathanson, and James Skelly, 'Nuclear Discourse in the 1980's: The Unravelling Conventions of the Cold War', p. 135.

US-India bilateral nuclear relations as guided by degrees of difference understood from an imperial angle.

Conclusion: Going beyond the levels – Filling the gap in the existing literature

Each of the theoretical viewpoints analysing US-India bilateral nuclear relations is exclusively situated at a particular level to account for the change in the US nuclear engagement of India, whether that may be systemic, domestic-political, individual, democratic identity oriented evaluations or the combination of all these: neorealism restricts the understanding to anarchy/state; neoliberalism to state/anarchy; regionalist-functionalist divide to domestic-political/international; ideology to individual/international; the integrated theoretical approach to democratic/nondemocratic; and finally LoA, where the authors base their understandings on the combination of multiple analytical factors and theories. Authors adopt respective theories to account for the change, assuming that their theoretical positions have a unified rational meaning and direction when interpreting the spatial and temporal diversity within which the US policies are being negotiated. Quintessentially, the above theoretical and methodological investigations with regard to US nuclear postures towards India, despite having produced a rich data set, impose boundaries and borderlines that negate or do not validate any other form of interpretation or understanding. They operate as unproblematic assertions in need of no critical accounting.[133] More importantly, theoretically and methodologically, there is an under appreciation of US nuclear foreign policy comprising a narrative practice and its effects on objectification of India as the 'other' and the subsequent implications for US identity constitution through degrees of difference.

This thesis, by adopting a narrative understanding of *identity as a meaningful construction* aims to transcend this level-of-analysis problem, as it will question absolute theoretical foundations in any form. The aim is to consider the *nuclear foreign policy* of the Clinton and the Bush administrations as a historically contingent practice of making sense of self, which engenders

[133] Ashley, 'Living on Border Lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War', p. 261.

and creates these very dichotomies and boundaries in the process of identifying the subjectivity of the US, through which the objectivity of nuclear India comes to be comprehended and vice-versa. Subsequently, this will allow the thesis to traverse the boundaries of power relations between states, the structure-agency debate and the ideational/material divide. The narrative identity approach will fundamentally problematise the settled nature of US identity in order to grasp the changing nature of its nuclear engagement with India. As Richard Ashley accurately summarises, the displacement of the state-as-an-absolute-boundary implies:

> …a need and opportunity to think in a wholly new way the relation between the undecidable indeterminacy signified by 'war' and 'international politics', on the one hand, and the decidable identities signified by 'man' and 'domestic politics', on the other.[134]

A wide range of theoretical studies has been conducted on the US nuclear engagement with India that account for the changing contours of the concerned administrations' nuclear posture. However, so far, none have systematically concentrated on the narrative identity approach and its conceptualisation of the meaning-making practices and the co-constitution of identities, wherein the nuclear foreign policy of the Clinton and the Bush administrations can be compared and contrasted in order to ascertain the different identity gradations. The narrative theory of identity and action, which contends that actions become meaningful only in the process of narrating a constitutive story of the self[135], therefore, needs further consideration. When examining contemporary US nuclear interactions with India, an imperial angle to great power identity where inequality is recurrently utilised becomes pertinent. It is especially important in the context of the wider literature on US nuclear identity and discursive analysis, because systematic concentration on great power narratives in relation to global nuclear order has not received sufficient attention. A gap exists in the literature and this thesis aims to fill it.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 309.
[135] Browning, *Constructivism. Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis: A Case Study of Finland*, p. 11.

Chapter Two

Reconceptualising Foreign Policy: Narrative, State Identity and Action from a Critical Constructivist-Postcolonial Viewpoint

Introduction

In order to understand foreign policy as a dynamic practice that perpetuates a 'state' in its very operation, identity and action have to be conceived as emerging in social interaction.[1] This chapter elaborates on the theory of narrative identity and action which contends that action becomes meaningful only within the constitutive stories that a particular individual or a collective tells about the 'self'. In this sense, a theory of self simultaneously entails practice because there are 'practical' implications of meaning-making.[2] Drawing from the theoretical concept of great power narratives, I argue that these narratives are productive of state identity. I further contend that processes of narrative identity and action should be understood from the perspective of an imperial dimension to great power narratives. Great power narratives are about the identity of a 'great power' as existing within an international space and time. Since encounters between great powers and rising powers entail relations of domination and subordination, an imperial angle to great power narratives provides a valuable insight. Representational practices that are at the centre of great power narratives consist of a process whereby the 'self' is defined by stereotyping the 'other'. This set is hierarchised in that some properties are more central to a particular collective's understanding of self-definition.[3] Therefore, Otherness constitutes a critical site for the politics of representation. Foreign and security policies also become a crucial site for these constructions where differences are regularly employed to narrate stories about the self.

[1] The theory of narrative identity and action is explored in detail by Browning in, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis: A Case Study of Finland*, p. 45.
[2] George, *Discourses of Global Politics*, p. 2.
[3] Patrick Colm Hogan, *Colonialism and Cultural Identity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), p. 9.

Firstly, this chapter focuses on theory of narrative identity and action and how it can be related to foreign policy. The discussion illustrates that the 'self' becomes a performative, whereby self-constitution is only possible through differentiation from 'other(s)' and through which a course of action becomes meaningful. Secondly, it shows that the process of narrating identity is imbued with political power wherein there is a constant struggle to establish a particular form of 'we-ness' in presence of a particular audience. It is then demonstrated how great power narratives are integral in this context of narrative identity. The analytical lens then brings the imperial angle to this critical constructivist venture of investigating how great power narratives of a nation-state are necessarily imbued with inequality wherein politics of representation is explicitly linked to uneven relationships in postcolonial encounters. From this perspective, politics of representation can be hinged on identity of 'race', 'political economy' and 'gender' through which binary oppositions are routinely drawn in these postcolonial encounters. Finally, foreign policy as a boundary creating practice that enables a state to engender identity which then becomes the very basis of action as pointed in Chapter One is evaluated. Keeping imperialism as an organising principle, this section also elaborates on the temporal and spatial identity in foreign policy discourse, which traverses 'radical otherness' to 'otherness'.

I then analyse methodological outcomes of a critical enquiry into narratives. The model of intertextuality is adopted as a methodology to analyse emplotment which is critical to the process of narrative identity. Intertextuality provides an avenue to understand the operation of text within context making it an important tool in analysing various subject-positions that authors inscribe themselves with during the process of emplotment. Intertextuality elucidates a site of struggle, and hence, identity constitution is always entrenched in power relations that capture the formation and execution of particular identity related policy actions. Once the operative modes of intertextuality are clear, I elaborate on what criteria are required in terms of selection of texts, especially in the context of US-India nuclear relations that addresses the aims of the research question. The chapter provides the theoretical and methodological basis

for the empirical evaluation to follow, and also situates the current topic in a larger network of studies located within the boundaries of critical constructivism and postcolonialism.

Constructing the social world through language

From the outset it is crucial to note that for critical constructivists, 'language', rather than being a neutral reflection of reality, reinforces a particular interpretation or meaning and thereby is constitutive of the very social world within which it operates. This conceptualisation of language differs to a very great extent from 'rationalist materialist' and 'cognitivist' that consider language to be reflective or referential, respectively. For the rationalist-materialist, language is purely referential in nature, i.e., language has just a referential function of conveying the meaning that certain 'object' inherently possesses. A statement, in this sense, is meaningful only if it is analytically and empirically verifiable thereby rendering the speculations about reality as meaningless. The positivist position is based on the notion of value free science. It is closely related to the philosophy of mind as in the tradition of Empiricists, which locates the origin of ideas in the passive perception of 'sense data'.[4] Logical positivist terms are characterised by 'a [paradoxical] suspicion of metaphysics, desire to define in a clear cut way what is to count as 'scientific', [and] an emphasis on the testability of concepts and propositions and a sympathy for hypothetico-deductive systems'.[5] From this perspective the primary function of language is to make assertions about the world of 'things' as they are, and not as they ought to be. Although cognitivists pay particular attention to the intentionality of the speaker, the subjective standpoint of the speaker is also important. As a result, linguistic practices are merely assumed to be referring to the 'belief systems' of respective individuals because language acts as a bridge between thinking and speaking. Language in this sense has

[4] Michael Shapiro, *Language and Political Understanding: The Politics of Discursive Practices* (New Haven, US: Yale University Press, 1981) p. 9.
[5] Anthony Giddens and Jonathan Turner eds., *Social Theory Today* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987), cited in Jim George, *Discourse of Global Politics*, p. 19.

a mediating function and not a constitutive one, for the core of the cognitivist assumption is to display how individual(s) refer to the world 'out there'.

For critical constructivists, language is not merely a medium through which particular issues are politicised. Since meaning is only possible within language, language has its own constitutive force. Individual speakers do not have the ability to fix a particular meaning, speakers themselves constitute and are constituted by the *language in use*. In words of Michel Foucault, the philosophy of founding subject for the phenomenological understanding of 'originary experience' which forms the basis of intentional approach to language is thus not considered valid.[6] To assert that there is nothing *outside* of the language, does not strictly mean that there *is nothing* outside of language, rather the meaning of a particular term or a phenomena and its 'objectivity' can be only guaranteed through the process of intersubjectivity of the language.[7] Language is thus not reducible to objective materialism or to subjective individualism.[8] In a way, critical constructivism is post-phenomenological because the 'reason' based on unchangeable objective laws and consciousness has no validation. Meanings are the sediment of a language and are neither purely reflective nor require any particular author or a speaker's frame of reference and thus are post-hermeneutic as well.[9] Since language is not understood to be a closed system but by definition an open-ended one, the production of meaning continues and cannot be halted. There is no 'true meaning' but meaning always remains in a flux due to interpretation and reinterpretations of the so called 'real world'. All meanings are produced between history and culture and can never be fixed but change from one period to another. In this sense, political and social lives comprise a set of practices in

[6] Michel Foucault, 'Orders of Discourse', in Michael Shapiro eds., *Language and Politics* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1984), pp. 108-139, see p. 125.
[7] Friedrich Kratochwil, 'Is the Ship of Culture at Sea or Returning?', in Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil eds., *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 1997), pp. 201-222, p. 219.
[8] See, Stefano Guzzini, 'A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2000, pp. 147-182, p. 164.
[9] Shapiro eds., *Language and Politics*, p. 2.

which things get constituted in the process of dealing with them.[10] Therefore, language is necessarily a carrier of power as it is able to structure relationship between different social agents while simultaneously being contingent and always vulnerable to political forces and dislocatory effects of events.[11]

Consequently, language as understood in discourse can be considered as a practice that is active in constructing the social world. *Discourse*(s) are an amalgamation of language and practice (non-discursive), where language and practice each reinforce the other and hence cannot be considered to be separate. The linguistics conditions give meaning to the social conditions, thereby conferring reality upon them while execution of a particular social practice in turn leads to the fulfilment of the linguistic assertions.[12] Discourse, as per Foucault, is thus broader than the language alone because it not only consists of words and texts but corresponding institutional and organisational practices – in what can be understood as *discursive practices*. For instance, the science of the mental instability i.e., psychology, led to the corresponding development of psychiatric practices which gave birth to the mental asylums, the classifications of the patients and their treatments, the role of the psychotherapist and the staff and the special facilities in the asylum and the proximity of the asylum to the city. The objectification of 'madness' also led to the corresponding practices that gave meaning to it.[13] In modern

[10] This is in opposition to Saussure's conception of language as a closed system that led to a clear one to one correspondence between the signifier and signified which was later refined by linguists who sought to escape the scientificity and consider language as *open-ended*. See, Stuart Hall eds., *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1997), p. 35, and Jenny Edkins, *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), pp. 24-25 and pp. 154-155.

[11] David Howarth, *Discourse* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), p. 9.

[12] Damian E. Hodgson, *Discourse, Discipline and the Subject: A Foucauldian Analysis of the UK Financial Services Industry* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), p. 6, cited in Richard Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism*, p. 19.

[13] It is important to note that Foucauldian thought has evolved from Archaeology to Genealogy. Archaeology is seen as an analysis of discursive systems in themselves whereas genealogy is about examining social practices as a whole, not the discursive realm alone, and specifically as being concerned with the role of power in production of subjects and materiality. Since this research is about historical present, I am more inclined towards genealogical understandings for it problematises objects and subjects, and instead, seeks to examine its contingent historical and political emergence For more see, Edkins, *Poststructutralism & International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In*, p. 42. Also see, Barry Cooper, *Michel Foucault: An Introduction to the Study of His Thought* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1981), pp. 5-35 and pp. 68-72. Geoff Danaher, Tony Schirato, and Jen Webb, *Understanding Foucault* (London: Sage Publications Limited, 2000). For archaeology see, Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*

terminologies of politics, for instance, the flag and the presidential seal powerfully reinforce the words of any official speaking in the White House press office. When words, symbols and defensive press are combined the 'reality' in that moment can be objectified as a 'truth', even if the 'facts' are later shown to be false. A 'war against terror' speech in this context has practical implications for the battles to be waged later on in Afghanistan and Iraq. There is a dialectical relationship between language and practice and therefore 'discourse is a form of social practice which both makes or constitutes the social world, and is at the same time constituted by other social practices'.[14] Discourse in this context, should no longer be treated as a group of signs but 'as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak'.[15] It makes real that which it prescribes as meaningful. As will be seen below, this has implications in terms of how identity and action can be grasped.

Narrative identity

If discourse is constitutive of the world, then an identity can be considered as arising only via intersubjective processes. Discourses are the bodies of knowledge about science, law, history, theology – that actors plot into narratives to make sense of the self.[16] Following Constance De Vereaux and Martin Griffin, it can be argued that the basis of identity is narrative in nature. It is only through telling stories about an individual self or a collective, that identity can be established in an inchoate world of diverse histories, cultures and disparate social realities.[17] As creatures of the word, humans use stories to convey gestures. Stories are the building blocks of identity; they are our way of understanding 'who we are' and 'what we are' in relation to

(London: Tavistock Publications, 1967). For the genealogical works see, Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, translated by Robert Hurley (New York: Random House Inc. 1978). Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York, Random House, Inc., 1995).

[14] Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism*, p. 21. For further evaluation see, Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis eds., *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis*, pp. 3-4.

[15] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge (*London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), p. 49.

[16] Miskimmon, O' Loughlin, Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*, p. 7.

[17] Constance De Vereaux, *Narrative, Identity, and the Map of Cultural Policy: Once Upon a Time in a Globalized World* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), pp. 1-2.

the rest of the existence. The connection between a narrative and identity is therefore important as it is only through this connection that it is possible to determine why a particular action becomes important. As Erik Ringmar notes:

> It is only as *some-one* that we can want *some-thing*, and it is only once we know who we *are* that we can know what we *want*.[18]

As opposed to rationalist approaches wherein identity is already considered to be stable which in turn leads to 'interest' related action based on maximisation of gains, a narrative based approach to identity leads to understanding that action is usually undertaken in order to establish a particular identity, as identities are always socially constructed. Recognition of a particular identity is rarely automatic, hence, in order to prove that an interpretation of particular identity is valid; an agent is forced to *act* to convince people regarding the applicability of a particular self-description. An action undertaken for these reasons is neither rational nor irrational as it cannot be described in terms of utility, since it is a *precondition* for a utility calculus to be possible in the first place.[19] As Ringmar further notes:

> It is only as someone that we can want something and it is precisely this 'someone' that the action in question is designed to establish. It is an action undertaken, not in defence of an interest, but in defence of an identity.[20]

Understood in this manner, an identity, rather than being an objective truth is performatively constituted through narratives. It is only through a recurring performance of storytelling that a particular identity can be sustained in time and space, thereby making actions, identities and interests meaningful. Here it becomes crucial to differentiate *story* from a *plot*, as Todorov notes 'the story is what happened in life, the plot is the way the author presents it to us'.[21] The process of *emplotment* functions as a core of this performative 'self'.[22] As Donald Polkinghorne

[18] Ringmar, *Identity, interest and action: A cultural explanation of Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Years War*, p. 13.
[19] *Ibid*., p. 14.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] Tzvetan Todorov, 'The Typology of Detective Fiction', in David Lodge and Nigel Wood eds., *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 225-232, see p. 228
[22] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis: A Case Study of Finland*, p. 47.

notes, emplotment is a procedure that configures temporal elements into a whole by 'grasping them together' and directing them toward a conclusion or ending, thereby forming as a narrative configuration.[23] Emplotment transforms the discontinuous events into a unified story with a particular point or theme unfolding through the plot of the story. Without the recognition of being weaved into a plot, each event would appear as discontinuous.[24] The process of emplotment enables the narrators to weave together complex events into a single story providing positive and negative subject positions that characterise responses to actions.[25] Additionally, the process that configures 'events' into a plot is interactive or dialectical, moving between temporal meanings that display a connection. As a result, while the story telling agent has significant leeway in terms of narrating a story of the self, the agent is always confined within the cultural contexts through which symbolic interpretations are available for the purposes of making sense of the self. Thus the self is open to adaption and change to an extent, but this adaption of the 'self-context' is always constrained by historical contexts within which it operates. Actors can only plot and project a narrative based upon the discourses available to them in their historical situation.[26]

While emplotment provides an avenue for continual performance of a particular identity, constitutive stories always have a beginning, middle and an end, through which the 'self' creates a presence in *time* and *space*. As Ringmar notes, in order to *be*, an individual or a collective must be in 'now' and 'here' since only here and now constitute the class of things that are taken to *be* as opposed to things which once *were* or those that *will* be.[27] However, strictly speaking in temporal terms, the *present* does not exist. The present is best understood as an infinitesimal point which disappears before it is taken into account. Paradoxically each

[23] Donald E. Polkinghorne, 'Narrative and Self-Concept', *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, vol. 1, no. 2 & 3, pp. 135-153, see p. 141. Polkinghorne basically elaborates on Paul Ricoeur's concept of emplotment. See, Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative: Volume. 1,* p. 66.
[24] *Ibid*.
[25] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis,* p. 46.
[26] Ringmar, *Identity, interest and action,* p. 74. For more on this also see, Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative: Volume. 1,* p. 57. Ricoeur explores how narratives rely on symbolic fields which are always culturally embedded.
[27] Ringmar, *Identity, interest and action,* p. 76.

moment exists only as anticipated or as remembered, but never really as 'present'.[28] A similar principle applies to the notion of space. In an empty or limitless space there can be no presence since every point can be considered just as closer or as far away from every other. However, an individual or a collective makes a presence for itself by 'anthropomorphising' and 'humanising' the abstract, limitless space.[29] In terms of narrating identity Christopher Browning notes, the meaning and representations attached to the history of 'self', tends to be retrospectively determined by the concerns of the present.[30] The past experiences are only significant in terms of what occurred subsequently, and hence, the past is open for revision and appraisal. This is what Ricoeur terms the 'retroactive re-alignment of the past'.[31] In this sense, 'I' always remain in the middle of my story; however, my identity is determined by the retrospective view of my whole life configured from the perspective of the ending. To talk about what *we are like* in time (now) and space (here), is to dwell on the projective future of becoming, hence descriptive and prescriptive aspects of the discourse are the same.[32] Building upon Schrag's evaluations, Browning expounds that narratives contain the implicit assumptions of current and future potentialities of the emerging identity of the self. For instance, a description of a historical experience of a 'western' nation implies similar prescriptive actions for the leaders of the nation to project such identification into the future.[33]

The final implication of narrative identity is that identity is only configured through *difference*. Within a particular language, a word obtains its meaning only in relation to difference with other words. According to Saussure, the word 'father' obtains its meaning because it *differs* from other words within a language such as 'mother', 'daughter', 'son' and so on. In a similar manner, if identity is understood to be purely constituted through language then it is possible

[28] *Ibid*.
[29] *Ibid*., p. 77.
[30] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 48.
[31] Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative: Volume 1*, p. 147.
[32] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 48.
[33] Scharg, *The Self after Postmodernity*, p. 92, cited in Browning, p. 48.

to conceptualise identity through the notions of *difference* at any given point.[34] In this sense, the meaning of a term is implicitly dependent on the other terms present within particular cultural-linguistic codes. As Derrida argues, Western understanding is dominated by binary oppositions as evident in hierarchical terms like spoken/written, good/evil, presence/absence, man/woman, believer/atheist, healthy/sick, normal/deviant, etc., wherein the first term is always superior to the other.[35] Rather than being in a negation, these oppositions allow the first term to exist meaningfully. Therefore, these terms should not be construed as opposites but should be understood as *difference*. Difference suggests that meaning is not simply a result of differentiation, but is also the result of deferral, that is, the putting off of encounter with the missing presence that the sign is presumed to be moving toward. 'Every concept is involved in a chain within which it refers to the other, to other concepts, by means of a *systematic play of differences*'.[36] While the stories of the self create distinction from other(s), these other(s) are involved in their own self-constitution through practices of difference. Identities are products of relationships with 'other(s)' located within cultural and historical dimensions. Meanings and interpretations are woven with new experiences, and therefore in an important sense 'first encounters' have always already happened.[37] Representational practices are integral to the construction and maintenance of particular identities, as Roxanne Doty argues; 'the very identities of peoples, states, and regions are constructed through representational practices', through 'an economy of abstract binary oppositions that we routinely draw upon and that frame

[34] David Howarth, 'Discourse Theory', in David Marsh and Gerry Stoker eds., *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1995), p. 121. Also see, Gunther Kress, 'Saussure to Critical Sociolinguistics: The Turn Towards a Social View of Language', in Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates eds., *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader* (London: Sage Publications Limited, 2001), pp. 29-38, see p. 31.

[35] Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, translated by Alan Bass (London: Routledge, 1978). Also see, Barbara Johnstone, 'Translator's Introduction', in Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination* (London: Athlon Press, 1981).

[36] Jacques Derrida, 'Difference', in *Margins of Philosophy*, translated by Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), p. II, cited in Roxanne Doty, *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North/South Relations*, p. 6. Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, translated and annotated by Alan Bass (London: The Athlon Press, 1981), p. 80. Also see, Jonathan Culler, *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* (London: Routledge, 1983), p. 95.

[37] Roxanne Lynn Doty, 'Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1997, pp. 365-392, see pp. 381-382.

our thinking' and through the narratives constructed out of those economies.[38] Identities, in short, are not based upon expectations, motivations and probabilities that the agent-structure problematique affirms.[39] Identity is constructed in the context of internal and external relations in *time* and *space,* and *power* that are constantly in flux.

Implementing 'we-ness': Power and the establishment of 'a' universal identity

While the above analysis focuses on subjective disposition of narrative identity, it is important to evaluate that even a collectivity such as the 'state' or 'nation' achieves subjectivity in much the same way.[40] From a narrative perspective, the importance of political subjectivity is to talk in terminology of 'we', whereby a particular individual or group of people do frequently claim to belong to a larger collective subject and even act on behalf of that collective subject. This is visibly apparent in the symbolic metaphors utilised to define 'body-politic', or in the case of United States where a metaphor of an 'axis of evil' largely became the basis to unleash the forces of 'good' in guise of 'War on Terror'. The 'axis of evil' personified the United States as a living breathing organism that stood for forces of 'good'. Important from this perspective is the characterisation of individuals (here the President) who recurrently use 'we' directly in the context of group identity even when they have no first-hand experience of the humiliation or injustice.[41] As Carr notes: 'An individual will say that 'we' experienced certain events, suffered this or that humiliation or outrage, even though he or she as an individual had no such experience directly'.[42] This means that an individual's 'I' can transcend to 'We-ness', when

[38] Roxanne Doty, *Imperial Encounters,* pp. 2-3, cited in Jutta Weldes, 'Discussion paper on Discourse and Identity', University of Bristol, April 2003, p. 2. https://kb.osu.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/1811/31957/Weldes%20Comments.pdf?sequence=30 (Accessed on 21/03/13).
[39] Doty, 'Aporia: Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory', p 383.
[40] Jennifer Mitzen, 'Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma', *European Journal of International Relations,* vol. 12, no. 3, 2006, pp. 341-370. Brent J. Steele, *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).
[41] Browning discusses about 'we-ness' in, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy: A Case Study of Finland*, p. 51. Also see, James V. Wertsch, 'Narrative Tools and the Construction of Identity', in Majken Schultz, Steve Maguire, Ann Langley, and Haridimos Tsoukas eds., *Constructing Identity In And Around Organizations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 128-146, see p. 144.
[42] Carr, *Time, Narrative and History,* p. 133.

the individual identifies with a group or community identity that can both pre-date and survive the individuals that make it up. Individuals look back at the collective origins before they personally even existed, and project forward in time the common tasks facing the group in order to secure its continued existence even after those individuals would have departed.[43]

However, achieving narrative coherence in form of 'we-ness' within a group or a collectivity is an inherently 'political process'. To achieve coherence of what 'we stand for' and 'what we are' is not once-and-for-all feat. Rather it is an ongoing task, sometimes a struggle.[44] The recognition of belonging to an 'in-group' that stands in opposition to an 'out-group', involves utilisation of symbolic lexicons, metaphors, and analogies whereby meanings are created within a discursive context.[45] The production of *a* particular 'reality' and its stabilisation that engenders *a* particular identity are indicative of workings of the narrative power that does not emanate from the agents themselves. Agents find themselves located within the dispersed field of discursive spaces, thus leading to dissolution of the charge that their identity/identities are always *pre-given*. Narrative power is therefore productive of the subjects and their worlds.[46] To answer *how* possible questions rather than *why* possible questions is therefore to consider, how particular representations of 'reality' that produced particular subjectivities was maintained while alternative forms of representations and realities were ruled out as insignificant or inaccurate.[47] An analysis of narratives is to consider what kind of language-power is exercised by authors, as they inscribe themselves with narratives representing a particular form of social reality leading to corresponding forms of identity and action.[48]

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[43] Carr, *Time, Narrative and History,* p. 148, cited in Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy,* p. 51.
[44] Polkinghorne, 'Narrative and Self-Concept', p. 145.
[45] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy,* p. 52.
[46] Roxanne Lynn Doty, 'Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of US Counterinsurgency Policy in Philippines', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 3, 1993, pp. 297- 320, see p. 302. Somers, 'The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach', *Theory and Society*, see p. 630. Also for a general evaluation of reality as constructed see, George, *Discourses of Global Politics*, pp. 2-10 and pp. 21- 25.
[47] Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 4.
[48] Janice Bially Mattern, *Ordering International Politics: Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force* (Abingdon: Oxon, Routledge, 2005), p. 84.

The inherent political nature of narrative power that works as representational force for sustaining/reinventing a state identity requires attention to the composition of the narrative form, called as 'articulation'. As Stuart Hall notes, articulation refers to the process through which meaning is produced out of extant cultural raw materials or linguistic resources. Meaning is created and temporarily fixed by establishing chains of connotations among different linguistic elements.[49] Most of the linguistic elements (alternatively called as terms and ideas) are already extant within a culture, as a result, they make sense within a particular society. As Jutta Weldes elucidates, in the post-war US for example, these linguistic elements included nouns such as 'terrorists' and 'puppets', adjectives like 'totalitarian', 'expansionary' and 'defensive', metaphors like 'the market' or 'dominos' and analogies like 'Munich' and 'Pearl Harbour'.[50] In the process of articulation, such extant linguistic resources are combined to produce contextually specific representations of the world which are always contingent. As Weldes notes, in the representations of Cold War US foreign policy, for instance, the object 'totalitarianism' was persistently articulated and thus came to connote, 'expansion' and 'aggression'. Conclusively, whenever 'totalitarianism' was invoked, it simultaneously carried with it the meanings of 'expansion' and 'aggression'. When these linguistic elements were further articulated to notions such as 'puppets of the Kremlin' and 'international Communism', they came to constitute partial representation of international system and the corresponding image of the United States as a 'freedom' loving 'democratic' nation.[51] In the process of articulation, subject, objects or social relations are represented in a specific way and imbued with particular meaning on which action in then based.

Despite the fact that these linguistic elements come to be seen as though they are inherently necessary and natural, these connections or chains of association established between such

[49] Stuart Hall, 'Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-structuralist Debate', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1985, pp. 91-114, p. 104, cited in Jutta Weldes, 'Constructing National Interests', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1996, pp. 275-318, p. 284.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 284.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

linguistic elements are in fact conventional. They are always socially constructed and historically contingent rather than logically or structurally necessary. The 'non-necessary' nature of articulations leads to an assertion that connections can always be contested.[52] As Weldes evaluates, this contestability has two important consequences:

> First, it means that specific articulations are never simply produced once and for all. Instead, to prevent them from coming unglued, or from being forcibly pried apart, they have always to be reproduced and sometimes quite vigorously. Second, it means that any articulation can be uncoupled and the resulting component parts rearticulated in different, and perhaps even novel, ways.[53]

In short, alternative representation of subjects, objects and social relations are always possible. Such attempts at re-articulation could be termed as counter-narratives which aim to undo the dominant interpretations of identity while engendering alternative interpretations of realities and identities. For instance, US Cold War representations have been the target of such attempts at re-articulation. Dissenters, from US orthodoxy, both within and outside of the US, have persistently sought to disarticulate 'the US' from 'freedom' and instead couple 'the US' with 'imperialism' and 'aggression'. To the extent that such re-articulation is successful, the result would be a different narrative of international system, one in which the US does not exercise leadership in the global defence of freedom. Instead, exercises its self-interest in the imperial and neo-imperial expansion.[54] The temporary naturalisation of dominant connections of linguistic elements thus indicates the workings of narrative power. Any unity to be found in the representational practices is not the result of a priori existence of objects and subjects. These positions are created in context of the field of discourses that are built on both internal and external forms of dominance through which a narrative about the 'self' or 'we-ness' is produced.[55] As Carr notes, that rhetoric which addresses a group as *we* is putative and persuasive rather than expressive of genuine unity and an already accepted sense of communal

[52] *Ibid*., p. 285.
[53] *Ibid*.
[54] *Ibid*.
[55] Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 9.

activity. There is never just one story to tell of a social group, frequently many stories are available and in contestation as different individuals and groups attempt to secure the right to narrate on behalf of the 'we', while at the same time trying to exclude and marginalise competing discourses.[56] Thus narratives and counter-narratives are equally important in the study of narrative identity formation and implementation of we-ness. Narrative power is thus integral to the maintenance of state identity as 'great power', as it simultaneously involves interactive relationship with the 'other' within dominant interpretations of a particular international system.

Conceptualising great power narratives

The 'critical turn' led to the questioning of dominant IR foundational paradigms of 'power', 'sovereignty', 'balance-of-power' and systemic configurations of 'bipolarity', 'unipolarity' and 'multipolarity' as espoused by the 'neo-orthodox' or neorealist discourse. The result was an alternative interpretation that pointed towards the significance of the discourse of international relations wherein narratives of state identity were constantly utilised to maintain boundaries of inside/outside through the utilisation of dichotomy such as sovereignty/anarchy.[57] Here, the former was considered to be a realm of peace while the latter was accredited to the realm of chaos. According to this dichotomised logic, the twain could never be reconciled, and hence, the dominant narrative invoked a unified rational meaning to historical, political and social reality, wherein each state struggled to survive and ensure its existence. However, the interpretive dimension to the identity of the state led to a re-reading of the state.[58] As opposed to the 'state' being a site for modern reason in opposition to the world of anarchy 'out there', the interpretive understanding focused on how fundamental questions of war, peace, security and justice – as framed through the dichotomised logic of the realm of

[56] Carr, *Time, Narrative and History,* pp. 156-157, cited in Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy*, p. 53.
[57] Campbell, *Writing Security,* pp. 21-22 and p. 42.
[58] Ashley, 'The Poverty of Neorealism', *International Organization*, pp. 238-242.

reason against the realm of anarchy – were integral to the production of the state itself, in other words a performative dimension to the state or the constitution of 'state-effect'.[59]

When understood in this context, the narrative dimension to the identity of 'great power' that stands in contrast to the 'rising power' and 'middle power' becomes stark. While the great power remains one of the most powerful states, both politically and materially, the identity of the great power is reconstituted in interaction with other(s) through socialisation into the dominant interpretations of international order. The narrative practices that constitute the great power state identity as a particular kind of actor, are negotiated both domestically and internationally.[60] In this sense, national identity is inextricably linked to international identity and vice-versa. As a result, similarity of behaviour can be evident between two great powers even when their domestic set-up is completely contradictory in nature. Their similarity of behaviour could be attributed to the fact that both operate within the dominant discursive frameworks of international order to which their national identity is inextricably linked.

In this context, Laure Roselle points to the similarity between the United States' rhetoric of withdrawal from Vietnam and the Soviet Union's rhetoric of Afghanistan as each nation gave greater importance to the normative dimensions of the role of the superpowers within the Westphalian order. For instance in the American case, the process of withdrawal was justified in terms of 'Vietnamisation' – the process after 1968 by which South Vietnamese political and military systems took control of their own defence. Vietnamisation was promoted as a logical and attainable step despite the ground reality of America losing the war. North Vietnam took over South Vietnam in 1975, just two years after American withdrawal had been justified in terms of a successful Vietnamisation. Similarly, the Soviet Union justified withdrawal by

[59] Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, p. 34. Gearoid O. Tuathail, 'Theorizing practical geopolitical reasoning: the case of the United States' response to the war in Bosnia', *Political Geography*, vol. 21, no. 5, 2002, pp. 601-628. More in-depth discussion undertaken later on in the Foreign Policy section below.

[60] Stefanie Ortmann, 'Russia as hyper-Westphalian Great Power', pp. 2-7, https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=stefanie-ortmann-final-short-draft&site=12 (Accessed on 29/12/14).

emphasising 'Afghan reconciliation'. As with Vietnamisation, Afghan reconciliation provided a plausible explanation for the withdrawal of Soviet forces, secure in the knowledge that their ally was capable of defending its own homeland. However, the situation was markedly different as the Soviet Union had practically lost the Afghan War.[61] Roselle points out that in both cases, the superpowers sought to give importance to the notion of international negotiation, diplomacy, and their peaceful intention that matched their respective identity as 'great powers'. The elites in both nations framed respective characteristics of their nation as being committed to upholding sovereignty, non-interference and peacefulness.[62] It can be argued that the post-Cold War international order is much more entrenched in norms of democratic freedom and human rights that reflects the identity of the US and the effort of this great power to reflect the 'self' as associated with the international community. Gerry Simpson argues that this liberal confidence in the post-Cold War era has produced a string of states that are considered or defined as 'outlaws', for example, North Korea, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria. In contrast to these states, the United States stands as 'civilised' and the only capable nation that can maintain an international order.[63] Iraq and Afghanistan, in this sense, required intervention as they could upset the international order as espoused and connected to the United States' sense of self.

The great power narratives are about both states and the system itself, both about 'who we are' and 'what kind of system we want'.[64] Great power identity is intrinsically connected to an initial situation or order, a problem that disrupts that order, and a resolution that re-establishes order, though that order may be slightly altered from the initial situation.[65] The 'other(s)' are

[61] Roselle, *Media and the Politics of Failure: Great Powers, Communication Strategies, and Military Defeats*, pp. 1-3.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[63] Gerry Simpson, *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 5. Others who have presented similar argument are, Andrew Hurrell, *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). Rosemary Foot, John Lewis Gaddis, and Andrew Hurrell, *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
[64] Antoniades, Miskimmon, and O'Loughlin, 'Great Power Politics and Strategic Narratives', pp. 2-3.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

located and evaluated within this order - which is absolutely tied to the projection and the legitimacy of 'self'. While the international recognition of a great power matters, what arguably matters more is the interpretation and translation of this recognition by those seeking it.[66] In the case of the United States and the global nuclear order, the context was set by the way its great power identity was linked in public political discourse to its identification as 'America', and therefore, became a necessary precondition for the American retention of nuclear weapons while simultaneously promoting a nuclear weapons free 'global nuclear order'. I argue that since this research is about encounters between United States and India, a postcolonial take on great power narratives leads to a better understanding of how narratives of great power utilise the categories of 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender' that rests on relations of inequality, when dealing with the other(s) within the dominant interpretations of international order. Scholars like Said, Mohanty, and Spivak among others have emphasised the relationship between Western representation and knowledge on one hand, and the Western material and political power on the other.[67] This relationship is underwritten by constructions of race, class and gender. The scholarship reveals how the pseudo-scientific, racist and gendered constructions of the others are inscribed with cultural authority and dominance of the West under the colonial rule and in the postcolonial present.[68] In great power and rising power encounters the representations of the West and the East, self and other are thus important in order to understand how Western hegemony is maintained in the postcolonial present.

[66] Ortmann, 'Russia as hyper-Westphalian Great Power', p. 8.
[67] Edward Said, 'Representing the colonized: anthropology's interlocutors', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1989, pp. 205-225. Edward Said, 'Orientalism reconsidered', in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Diane Loxley eds., *Europe and Its Others, vol. 1*, Proceeding of the Essex Sociology of Literature Conference (University of Essex: Colchester, 1985), pp. 14-27. Chandra Mohanty, 'Under western eyes: feminist scholarship and colonial discourses', *Feminist Review*, vol. 30. 1988, pp. 61-88. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1998). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Neocolonialism and secret agent of knowledge', *Oxford Literary Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1991, pp. 220-251.
[68] Geeta Chowdhary and Sheila Nair, 'Power in a postcolonial world: race, gender and class in International Relations', in Geeta Chowdhary and Sheila Nair eds., *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Readings in race, gender and class* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), pp. 15-16.

Imperialism as an organising principle of great power narratives

While great power narratives are apparent in the constitution of a state identity, like that of the United States on an international stage, the question remains: What are the boundaries of these great power narratives? What sort of organising principles in terms of representational identities are utilised to mark a great power as opposed to and different from a rising power, for instance? This is where postcolonial dimension with a focus on continuation of imperialism through representational practices becomes imperative.[69]

The term 'postcolonial' is a dialectical concept that takes into consideration the historical facts of decolonisation and the formation of nationhood with subsequent birth of sovereignty. But more importantly, it takes into consideration the reality of new peoples and communities emerging into the new imperialistic context of economic and political domination. The term postcolonial also signifies transformed historical situations and the cultural formations that have arisen in response to changed political circumstances, in the former colonial powers. To be more specific, the term 'postcoloniality' implies that economic, material and cultural domination conditions the global system within which a postcolonial state is required to operate.[70] While colonialism, which meant 'the political control, physical occupation, and domination of people over another people and their land for purposes of extraction and settlement to benefit the occupiers'[71] is no longer prevalent (although some colonial control still exists in the Falkland/Malvinas Islands, Gibraltar, French Guiana, French Polynesia, Guam, Virgin Islands, etc.), postcolonial scholars highlight the importance and the persistence of such practices in the contemporary period. For instance, the economic and military control

[69] For a similar evaluation in the Indian context see, Himadeep Muppidi, 'Postcoloniality and the Production of International Insecurity: The Persistent Puzzle of US-India Relations', in Jutta Weldes, Mark Laffey, Hugh Gusterson, and Raymond Duvall eds., *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities and the Production of Danger* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 119-146, see pp. 129-131.
[70] Robert J. C. Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990) p. 57.
[71] Neta C. Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 131, cited in John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 288.

of the Western interests in the global South is much larger than it was when the colonies were under direct juridical and bureaucratic control of the colonising power. The ability to extract resources from former colonies still persists through globalisation of capitalism. Moreover, the end of formal colonial control means that though the former colonial powers are no longer able to physically move the cheap labour to the areas of production, instead, the trend observed is that capitalism takes the point of production to the zones where labour is available at the lowest cost.[72] Postcoloniality therefore points towards the continuation of colonial practices in form of domination and exploitation, which are heavily skewed towards the interests and whims of the domineering 'great powers'.

Here it is vital to differentiate between *colonialism* and *imperialism*. Colonialism can be defined as the subjugation of one group by another, a brutal process through which two thirds of the world experienced invasion and loss of territory along with a decimation of local political, social and economic systems, leading to external political control. However, imperialism is arguably a more nuanced term, which entails, as Said notes, 'practice, theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory'.[73] The United States then can be referred to as an imperial country as the US doctrine of 'exceptionalism' confirms the core tenet that a nation can achieve worldly power without acquiring colonies which basically amounts to the ideal of 'global dominance without colonies'.[74] The modern day power of the United States, which extends to global political, social, economic and cultural domains without a direct physical control of territories, can thus be equated to imperialism as opposed to colonialism. Since imperialism elucidates a relationship between domination and subjugation, particular attention is paid to the aspect of how identities of Western nations are

[72] Peter Childs and R. J. Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* (Prentice: Hall/Harvester Weahtsheaf, 1997), p. 6.
[73] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 8, cited in *Situating Knowledge Systems*, p. 9, http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/41611_1.pdf (Accessed on 28/02/14).
[74] Donald E. Pease, 'US Imperialism: Global Dominance without Colonies', in Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), pp. 203-220, see pp. 203-205.

actually to a great extent dependent upon on how the 'other' in the East in represented. Representations of reality intermingle with Eurocentric ways of thinking and understanding and how these continuously reinforce the superior identity of a particular country in the West, is central to the postcolonial critique. As Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey note, core and the periphery, North and South, West and East, inside and outside are treated as a part of the global formation structured and produced through diverse kinds of imperial encounters.[75] To this effect Edward Said notes in his seminal study Orientalism:

> …the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other.[76]

The 'inequality' as produced through politics of identity/difference in encounters between great powers and rising powers is thus constitutive of the relationship between them as well as identity of the great power located within the dominant interpretations of the international order.[77] Identifying these representations, Shapiro proposes that Huntington's moral geography generates a new cartography, one that substitutes territorialised 'civilisations' for the more usual Western trope of nation-states and colonised dependencies. This cartography, supplants the geo-political clashes over 'culture', because it replaces a culturally dangerous 'other' with a monotonically construed religion, 'Islam'. Shapiro thus claims that these violent cartographies, which reinforce imaginaries and antagonisms, are based on models of identity-difference. As he notes, they are literally and figuratively maps and other spatialised representations of enmity.[78] Farmanfarmaian proposes that the Gulf War also in a similar manner involved construction of sexual and racial identities as he argues: 'The war took place

[75] Barkawi and Laffey, 'Retrieving the Imperial: Empire and International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Relations*, see p. 116.
[76] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.
[77] For a general evaluation in this context see, William E. Connolly, 'Identity and Difference in Global Politics', in Der Derain and Shapiro eds., *International/Intertextual Relations, Postmodern Readings of World Politics*, pp. 323-342, see p. 330.
[78] 'An interview with Michael J. Shapiro', in Terrell Carver and Samuel Chambers eds., *Michael J Shapiro, Discourse, Culture, Violence* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 199-206.

against that image, against the representation of Iraq, not Iraq itself'.[79] Roland Bleiker notes in differentiating American self from the rogue state the 'opposition between good and evil is not negotiable,' further adding that, '[E]vil is in essence a term of condemnation for a phenomenon that can neither be fully comprehended nor addressed other than through militaristic forms of dissuasion and retaliation'.[80] A great power identity can be seen as mediated through representation of difference through an inequality of self/other relations in identity politics of race, political economy, and gender which are always historically contingent.

Understanding 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender' as identity markers

The othering of vast numbers of people and their construction as backward and inferior depends on what Abdul R. JanMohamed calls the 'Manichean allegory' in which the binary and implacable discursive oppositions between races are produced.[81] Such oppositions are integral not only in creating images of an outsider, but are equally integral and essential to the construction of an insider, usually the identity of the state with colonising aspirations. Therefore many anticolonial and postcolonial critiques are preoccupied with uncovering how such oppositions work in colonial/imperial representations. JanMohamed argues that ambivalence is itself a product of 'imperial duplicity' and that underneath it all, a Manichean dichotomy between the coloniser and colonised is what really structures the colonial relations. The discourses about racial difference are thus the most crucial form of identity constructions, which work in relation to class, gender and sexuality.[82] As Amott and Matthaei insist, '[r]ace-

[79]A Farmanfarmaian, 'Did you measure up? The role of race and sexuality in the Gulf War', in C. Peters ed., *Collateral Damage* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), p. 115, cited by Marysia Zalewski and Cynthia Enloe, 'Questions about Identity in International Relations', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith eds., *International Relations Theory Today* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. 279-305.
[80] Bleiker, 'A Rogue is a Rogue is a Rogue', pp. 731-732.
[81] Abdul R. JanMohamed, 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory', in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 18-23.
[82] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 105.

ethnicity, gender, and class are interconnected, interdetermining historical processes, rather than separate systems'.[83]

Eurocentric narratives have drawn extensively upon 'race' in order to classify a distinctive group of 'outsiders' for ensuring national stability. These 'outsiders' are usually characterised with negative connotations of possessing inferior qualities such as laziness, aggression, violence, greed, sexual promiscuity, and primitivism. Ania Loomba notes that association of 'race' and 'nation' has been drawn upon to mark the collective identity. The word 'race' was often read as synonymous with the various forms of social collectivities such a 'kinsfolk', 'lineage', 'home' and 'family'.[84] 'Race' thus became a critical marker for the 'imagined community', a phrase that Benedict Anderson has used in relation to a nation.[85] Both nations and races are imagined as communities that bind the fellow human beings and create demarcations from the others who are outsiders. Scientific racism from the eighteenth century onwards calcified the assumption that race is responsible for cultural formation and historical development. Nations are often regarded as expression of biological and racial attributes. This does not underscore the point that a nation comprises of pure racial community; of course, there are many different races within a modern nation. However, the Western sense of nationhood is still comprised of dominant 'European' or 'whiteness' in opposition to the 'Indians', 'Chinese', 'Africans', 'Asians' and so on. Loomba further notes that over time the categorisation of race has metamorphosed into the notions of ethnicity, but racial classifications have pernicious social effects: 'Ethnic, tribal and other community groupings are social constructions and identities that have served to both oppress people and radicalise them'.[86] Theoretically, race cannot be defined as a self-enclosed entity with positive, foundational or essentialist properties.

[83] Teresa L. Amott and Julie A. Matthaei, *Race, Gender and Work: A Multi-Cultural Economic History of Women in the United States* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1996), p. 13, cited in Chowdhry and Nair eds., *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading race, gender and class*, p. 57.
[84] Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 118.
[85] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
[86] Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 122.

The racialisation of race occurs in specific space and time, and under specific historical, political, socio-economic, and ideational-cultural conditions. Differences of race are institutionalised and constructed as hierarchical structures of inferior and superior cultures, as well as exposing the purpose of attaching negative values to those cultures that negate the dominant norm.[87] An excluded exterior group is in no sense a concrete collection of people who, empirically, may or may not have the traits loathed by the interior group, but race is 'precisely a fetishistic projection of the nullity of the interior group's existence'.[88]

Race and ethnicity are also indirectly connected to the politics of economics centred on 'development' in creating the discourse of poverty and riches in the past half century, and thereby contributed to the framing of public policies that have shaped the lives of the millions of people around the postcolonial world - who are always securely bracketed off as 'less-developed' or 'underdeveloped'. As a discipline, economics has upheld the narrative of 'development' as the centrepiece of its theoretical construction of formerly colonised regions, thus retaining the ontological precedence of modern European societies as a basis for its theory of history.[89] Economic prescriptions of 'development' still exert incredible force through adoption of stringent structural reforms by 'less developed countries', as prescribed or imposed by such institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with material consequences for all societies. The main controversy of politics of economic development rests on the dividing line between state-led Fordist models of development on one hand and the preference for expansive, networked flow associated with globalisation on the other. This has led to a change in the international discourse as states that were previously developing internally are now being instructed to gear their development towards a global market in order to rectify the propensity of global poverty that might affect the developed

[87] Deirdre Howard-Wagner, 'Colonialism and the Science of Race Difference', http://sydney.edu.au/arts/sociology_social_policy/docs/TASA-SAANZ-Science%20of%20Race%20Difference.pdf (Accessed on 27/08/13).
[88] David Mertz, 'The Racial Other in Nationalist Subjectivations: A Lacanian Analysis', p. 3, http://gnosis.cx/publish/mertz/racial_other.pdf (Accessed on 27/08/13).
[89] S. Charusheela and Eiman Zein-Elabdin, *Postcolonialism Meets Economics* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.

regions or the metropolis.[90] The postcolonial perspective on political economy, critically attempts to question how the 'other' cultures encounter 'the Western' economic-oriented approaches within social sciences. The development studies have established the idea of 'development' as following 'the footsteps of the West', understood explicitly in terms of the process of 'economic growth, industrialisation, social differentiation and mobilisation'. This explanation largely confines the areas of such processes to have taken place predominantly in *the North,* like Europe and North America, whereas other areas of the world, in *the South,* are still lagging behind.[91] Particular historical processes are then presented as human progress irrespective of their downsides, and one's own society as the ideal whereas other societies are attributed as deficient versions or 'under-developed'.[92] In the case of development and dependency arguments, binaries like 'developed-underdeveloped', 'centre-periphery', and 'metropole-satellite' tend to reinforce power relationship between the two terms. The first term continues to be central and dominant – so that the West ends up being consolidated 'as sovereign subject'. Such discursive hierarchies contribute to the perpetual dependence of the 'periphery' on the 'centre' thereby habituating colonised and ex-colonised subjects to being peripheralised.[93] The postcolonial perspective on political economy departs from the traditional Marxian emphasis on class relations, and reconceptualises class relations on the basis of indeterminate contemporary formations with no presumptions of a particular historical trajectory. Stuart Hall is instructive when he notes that the postcolonial discourse basically alludes to 'a crisis in the modes of comprehending the world associated with such concepts as Third World and nation state'.[94]

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[90] April Biccum, *Global Citizenship and the Legacy of Empire* (Routledge: Oxon, 2010), pp. 2-3.
[91] Aram Ziai, 'Postcolonial perspectives on 'development'', Working Paper 103, ZEF Working Paper Series, University of Bonn, 2012, p. 4. Also see, Norman T. Uphoff and Warren F. Ilchman eds., *The Political Economy of Development* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972). Ankie Hoogvelt, *Globalization and the Postcolonial World: The New Political Economy of Development* (Baltimore Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).
[92] Aram Ziai, 'Postcolonial perspectives on 'development', p. 2.
[93] Ilan Kapoor, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development* (Abingdon: Oxon, 2008), p. 10.
[94] Stuart Hall, 'When was the post-colonial? Thinking at the limit', in Iain Chambers and Lidia Curtis eds., *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 256, cited in

In the politics of maintaining difference, the construction of race also intermingles with corresponding constructions of gender and sexuality. Ann Stoler observes that sexuality was one of the central technologies of both modernisation and imperialism.[95] Contrary to the common understandings of colonialism, Antoinette Burton proposes that colonialism should be understood as an 'unfinished business', for the imperial powers could never fix 'with absolute authority the social and cultural conditions out of which citizens and subjects could make and remake their relationships to the state and civil society'.[96] In an attempt to do so however colonialism generated a vision of the globe as divided into 'separate and concrete cultures… The regulation of sexuality, in both its public and private practices, was crucial to creating and maintaining the myth about the integrity of cultures'.[97] On-going struggles in 'sexual terrains' are therefore important to reinscribe and reinstate the difference between the metropole and colony, the modern nation and premodern society. In short, the difference in gender is attributed to sexualisation of the 'other' as the female while bestowing qualities of the male on the 'self'. The metamorphic use of female body differs in different colonial periods; however the effeminised qualities are recurrently deployed in order to explain the qualities of the East, which engenders sexualised images of manliness on the Western self. The sexualisation of the 'other' yet again leads to the construction of other as 'weak' and 'inadequate' in need of guidance and leadership. Sexuality is thus a means for maintenance of racial difference. According to Helen Carr:

> …in the language of colonialism, non-Europeans occupy the same symbolic space as women. Both are seen as part of nature, not culture, and with the same ambivalence: either they are ripe for government, passive, child-like, unsophisticated, needing

Charusheela & Zein-Elabdin, *Postcolonialism Meets Economics*, p. 9. For more on this also see, Serap A. Kayatekin, 'Between political economy and postcolonial theory: first encounters', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 33, no. 6, pp. 1113-1118.

[95] Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

[96] Antoinette Burton eds., *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 3, cited in Julian B. Carter and Marcia Klotz, 'Book Reviews: Gender, Sexuality, and Colonial Modernities by Antoinette Burton: The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse by Irvin Schick', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2001, pp. 310-316, p. 311.

[97] Antoinette Burton, p. 4, cited in Julian B. Carter and Marcia Klotz, 'Book Reviews: Gender, Sexuality, and Colonial Modernities by Antoinette Burton: The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse by Irvin Schick'.

> leadership and guidance, described always in terms of lack – no initiative, no intellectual powers, no perseverance; or on the other hand, they are outside society, dangerous, treacherous, emotional, inconstant, wild, threatening, fickle, sexually aberrant, irrational, near animal, lascivious, disruptive, evil, unpredictable.[98]

The analogy thus runs between the subordination of women and the inferior 'other' highlights weak characteristics and the need for reform and support in both cases. Sexuality must also be treated as a variable rather than a constant in comparative studies. Apart from the biological and reproductive aspects of sex, there has been a growing awareness that 'sexuality' is culturally contingent.[99] The control of sexuality could be ascribed to the imperial invention of distinction between the personal-domestic realms and public-civil society, a process that occurred recursively between metropole and colony. The separation of domestic and civil society officially relegates sexuality to the private and the personal while masking the sexual politics of the institutions, governments and markets. The gendered association of the domestic realm with women and that of civil society with men, impedes the ability of either gender to negotiate successfully social life as a composite whole.[100] Patriarchal norms are thus instilled in a particular society where marriage and other forms of cross-gender kinship become essential for survival in a society divided into men's and women's realms. Admittedly, the relation and regulation of sexuality are important for identity formation of both colonial and postcolonial states. Masculinised forms of organised violence are often deployed in name of the national security. Practices of racialisation and sexualisation are invented and solidified for the control of population as well as to discipline and mobilise the bodies of women in order to consolidate patriarchal processes. Women's bodies become the main sites for discipline and control in different ways in the fields of profit maximisation, as global workers and sexual labourers, within religious fundamentalism, as guardians of culture and respectability or as wives and

[98] Helen Carr, 'Woman/India, the 'American' and his Others', in F. Barker et al., eds., *Europe and Its Others*, vol. 2 (Colchester: University of Essex Press, 1985), p. 50, cited in Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, pp. 159-160.
[99] Barbara L. Voss, 'Sexual Effects: Postcolonial and Queer Perspectives on the Archaeology of Sexuality and Empire', in Barbara L. Voss and Eleanor Casella eds., *The Archaeology of Colonialism: Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 11-30, see p. 12.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

mothers.[101] Thus sexuality is not only a site of control internally, it also transfers itself internationally in the relational politics of maintaining the difference between states. The mapping of sexual terrains in the realm of the 'other' contributes towards maintaining the geography of contrasts that serves the definition of the Western 'self' and its imperial agenda.

In the relational process of identification, race, political economy, gender, all support each other simultaneously yet are able to maintain some form of distinction. Mostly, racialised articulations are tied to other attempts to negotiate differences in gender and political economy. The politics of identity and difference thus operate in an imaginative realm and the representations which in these matters, can lead to revolution, to empowerment, to resistance, and to greater knowledge of the constructedness of categories of race, sexuality and gender.[102] The following section evaluates on the foreign policy as a boundary producing practice and its association with narrative identity and action.

Foreign policy as a boundary producing practice

In keeping with the realist tradition, Morgenthau depicted the state as a unitary and rational actor rendering it unimportant to analyse the influence of internal components of the state such as the governmental machinery of either executive or legislature when assessing the foreign policy choices.[103] Although disputed to a great extent in Morgenthau's evaluation, the 'national interest' of United States was rooted in the preservation of global balance of power in order to prevent threats to the US national security. The pure goal of the foreign policy thus was to maintain state security from external threats.[104] The role of the foreign policy as addressing and dealing with myriad range of threats to the state had consequences for the subsequent

[101] Alexander M. Jacqui, *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), p. xxiii.
[102] Jeff Berglund, *Cannibal Fictions: American Explorations of Colonialism, Race, Gender and Sexuality* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), p. 172.
[103] Chris Alden and Amnon Aran, *Foreign Policy Analysis: New Approaches* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), p. 3.
[104] See, Hans J. Morgenthau, ''Great Debate': The National Interest of the United States', *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 46, no. 4, 1952, pp. 961-988, see pp. 965-971.

understandings of classic foreign policy literature. The three approaches of classic foreign policy literature introduced the epistemological questions of whether social agency could be viewed in 'objectivist' sense or 'interpretive' sense. As Valerie Hudson expounds,[105] these three approaches comprise of: the *Decision-Making Approach*, the *Comparative Approach*, and the *Cognitive Approach*.

The decision-making approach forwarded by Richard Snyder, questioned the utility oriented tenets of realism and instead focused upon the dynamics of the organisational processes at the sub-state level. Therefore, as opposed to *policy outcomes* the *decision-making* was accorded higher priority. As per this understanding, decision-making is best understood in an 'organisational setting' as found in the smaller group dynamics or even in the larger groups such as bureaus, which affected the individual agent's decisions. State policy choices were thus dependent upon the flow of communication, motivations and the interests of various individuals and groups. The motivation to maintain a group consensus was an important factor in foreign policy decision.[106] Irving Janis[107], Morton H. Halperin[108], Graham T. Allison and Philip Zelikow[109] elaborated upon the detailed organisational, bureaucratic and inter-organisational factors that moulded the decision-makers' choices.

The comparative approach as pioneered by James Rosenau, attempted to forward the multi-causal and multi-factorial workings of the foreign policy. As opposed to the single nation investigation, the purpose of the comparative approach was to generate testable theories and explanation that were endowed with explanatory factors through integration of intervening,

[105] Valerie M. Hudson, 'Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-30, see p. 5.
[106] Richard Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin eds., *Decision-Making as an Approach in the Study of International Politics to the Study of International Politics*, Foreign Policy Analysis Project Series No. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 60-74.
[107] Irving Janis, *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign-Policy Decisions and Fiascoes* (Boston: Houghton Miffin, 1972).
[108] Morton Halperin, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institutions, 1974).
[109] Allison and Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*.

independent and dependent variables situated in cross-national settings.[110] Rosenau thus encouraged an actor-specific theory of foreign policy which was based on statistical exploration and confirmation underscored by the need to integrate information at several levels from the individual leaders to the international system, allowing a discovery of law-like generalisations.[111] Integrated multilevel explanations were later incorporated by several foreign policy theorists such as Michael Bercher[112] and Wilkenfeld et al.[113] In each of these projects, a comparative approach was adopted wherein independent variables were examined at several levels.

The cognitive theory of foreign policy received a major impetus after Harold and Margaret Sprout's path breaking study on *The Cognitive Aspect of Man-Milieu Relationships.* The main contention of these theorists was that an explanation for the actors' undertakings in response to their environment was not possible without taking into consideration the psychological dispositions of the actors such as their perception, recognition, selection, reaction, mood, attitude, choice, decision, etc. Actors' values and other psychological attributes selectively guided them to perceive their external environment and act accordingly. This was termed as *cognitive behaviouralism*.[114] To explain foreign policy undertakings, the psycho-milieu of individuals and groups has to be accounted for where incongruities between objective and perceived international environments could occur.

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[110] James N. Rosenau, 'Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field?', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1968, pp. 296-329, pp. 305-314.
[111] James Rosenau, 'Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy', in R. Barry Farrell eds., *Approaches in Comparative and International Politics* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1996), pp. 115-169, cited in Valerie Hudson and Christopher Vore, 'Foreign Policy Analysis Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow', *Mershon International Studies Review*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1995, pp. 209-238, see p. 213.
[112] Michael Bercher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Image, Process* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).
[113] Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Gerald Hopple, Paul Rossa, and Stephen Andriole, *Foreign Policy Behavior: The Interstate Behavior Analysis Model* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1980).
[114] Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Inc., 1965), see p. 118. Ole Holsti, *The 'Operational Code' as an Approach to the Analysis of Belief Systems* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1977). Kenneth Boulding, 'National Images and International Systems', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1959, pp. 120-31. Also in this criteria see, Robert Jervis, *Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Despite being critical of the realist school, classic scholarship as discussed above retained the traditional dichotomy of inside/outside, domestic/foreign and the subsequent macro-micro foundations. The explanatory power of each theory rests upon independent variables that help to understand the variations in the state choices and behaviour in the external realm. For instance, the decision-making approach rests on the operational settings within each nation as an independent variable and the comparative approach rests on the external conditions and influences that operate as foreign policy stimuli.[115] Despite focusing on psychoanalytic dispositions of the individual actors, Sprout and Sprout made it amply clear that the cognitive approaches were undertaken to explain individual undertakings in the external realm.[116] Henrik Larsen therefore pointed out that the actors' views are mainly treated in positivist terms for beliefs and perceptions are often seen as 'intervening variables' and not necessarily as 'meaningful references'.[117] These three approaches treat foreign policy as an external attribute of a pre-established state. Foreign policy simply becomes a means of responding to the threat 'out there' leaving intact the understandings of the state as a bounded totality in need of no accountability. As opposed to the traditional configuration of foreign policy as an external apparatus of the state, this thesis argues that it needs to be conceived as a discursive practice that systematically creates threats in the external realm to secure the cohesion of a nationally unified entity on the inside. In other words, in order to dissolve the ambiguity inside, threats have to be nurtured outside so that a state can exist as an independent actor. In Campbell's terms, this entails a re-theorisation of foreign policy by examining the conditions of possibility that allows the state to exist as an independent sovereign actor with a cohesive national identity.[118] The interrogation of the conditions of possibility allows for a greater consideration

[115] Rosenau, 'Comparative Foreign Policy: Fad, Fantasy, or Field?', p. 313.
[116] Sprout and Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs*, p. 179.
[117] Larsen, *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis: France, Britain and Europe*, p. 7.
[118] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 40.

of the ambiguity and contingency of the state and the dichotomy of inside/outside on which traditional foreign policy theorisations are based.

According to critical constructivists' conceptualisation of narrative identity, political boundaries are integral to the constitution of the state. More importantly boundaries ensure a permanent divide between interior-singular sovereign space and an exterior, pluralistic, anarchical space. Boundaries thus provide a minimalist definition of 'coherence', which is essential for the maintenance of the state identity. Threats and dangers from states or other actors need constant linguistic invocation in order to keep the boundary i.e., the dichotomy between inside/outside, order/anarchy, and us/them secure so that a particular notion of coherent self remains intact. As David Campbell argues, 'for a state to end its practices of representation would be to expose its lack of prediscursive foundations; stasis would be death'.[119] Foreign policy, therefore, can be seen as referring to all policies of differentiation or modes of exclusion figured through the relationships of otherness and constituting the objects as foreign in the process of dealing with them. In this sense, foreign policy works as a particular resolution of the categories of identity/difference, and applies to the confrontation that take place between self and another located in different sites of ethnicity, race, class, gender or geography with these sites being constituted in the process. Operating at all levels, the foreign policy establishes conventional dispositions through which ambiguity and contingency can be apprehended as Campbell notes:

> …the practices of foreign policy serve to enframe, limit, and domesticate a particular meaning of humanity. . .it incorporates the form of domestic order, the social relations of production, and the varying subjectivities to which they give rise.[120]

Campbell further marks the distinction between 'foreign policy' and 'Foreign Policy' in which the former can be understood as referring to all practice of differentiation or modes of exclusion

[119] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 11. Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: 'The East' in European Identity Formation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 219.
[120] David Campbell, 'Violent Performances: Identity, Sovereignty, Responsibility', in Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil eds., *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, p. 163-180.

providing the conventional matrix of interpretations or a discursive economy in which the second understanding of state-based Foreign Policy operates. This second understanding – Foreign Policy as state-based conventionally understood within the discipline – is thus not equally implicated in the constitution of identity as the first understanding. Rather, Foreign Policy serves to reproduce the constitution of identity made possible by 'foreign policy' and to contain challenges to the identity that results.[121] A 'state' is thus a result of both disciplinary practices that homogenise a particular population and exclusionary practices that guarantee a domestic society by differentiating it from threatening 'others', 'dangers' and 'foreigners'. Contrary to the assertions of the classic FPA approach, Foreign Policy is not merely a function to preserve an already complete state but is an activity that creates the effect of the state. Foreign Policy performs the critical function of making the state complete with self-present actors. This assertion leads to an understanding that the national state does not possess a prediscursive stable identity. The state is never a finished entity and is in need of permanent reproduction, on this view. Foreign Policy serves the function of continuously producing a state's identity and to contain the various challenges that result to this identity.

Foreign Policy can therefore be understood as a discursive practice that creates the 'other' only to reveal the 'self' in the process. It can be considered as an operational process that underscores power and dominance on a particular object of inquiry. It involves manipulation of the structural, textual and contextual factors available in the system, in order to achieve the ultimate aim behind the production, i.e., the distortion of the experience and realities, and the inscription of inferiority of the language of the other (a strategy used so often by the colonising power for the ultimate aim of total subjugation).[122] A text according to Koch and Abdul Ghani is a communicative occurrence, which has to respect the requirements of the constitutive and regulative factors of the text construction and reception. Foreign Policy is thus meant to be

[121] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 69.
[122] Mohamed Benhaddou, 'A Postcolonial Textualization of Arabic', Abdelmalek Essaadi University, Tetuan, Morocco, http://www.postcolonialweb.org/poldiscourse/casablanca/benhaddou2.html (Accessed on 29/08/13).

cohesive, coherent, and structured in accordance to fulfil a requirement of a particular genre or text types with a view to achieve a goal specified in a plan.[123] Foreign Policy derives its texture from the network of relations established amongst the linguistic elements constituting the text and the world knowledge shared by the members of the discourse community for whom it has been produced. It is a particular form of writing that is utilised as a medium to obscure reality. According to Tiffin and Lawson, 'a particular form of obscuring function of language and textuality is the process of erasure by which the obscurity is transformed from the language to the field of being inscribed'.[124] It is an ever-present process that is not different from the other forms of colonial practices as Tiffin and Lawson argue:

> …imperial relations may have been established initially by guns, guile and disease, but they were maintained in their interpellative phase largely by textuality, both institutionally …and informally.[125]

Foreign Policy as a boundary producing practice can be seen as activating a heterogeneous set of representational practices through great power narratives. One of these heterogeneous modalities is the repeated quotation in relation to textuality of the powerful. Such texts have remained the usual and common practice whenever the other is taken as the object of scientific inquiry. When understood from the point of narrative, it has to be taken into consideration how through linguistic terms certain facts are maintained to achieve a coherent great power state identity. Foreign Policy as boundary producing practice is thus a disguised management, a device used in argumentation in order to achieve a particular identity.[126] This constitutes the difference in the process as certain tropes are used rhetorically to re-establish and re-inscribe differential identities. Such strategic use of the text establishes identities that work towards achieving some form of goals. The colonial subject then becomes permanently circumscribed to a fixed signifying position wherein an essential homogeneity of 'other' cultures is

[123] *Ibid.*
[124] Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, *De-Scribing Empire* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 5, cited in Benhaddou.
[125] Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, p. 3, cited in Benhaddou.
[126] *Ibid.*

maintained.[127] Drawing on this argument, I contend that official US nuclear foreign policy discourse continues to produce representations of the world based on imperial identity while trying to configure 'American' identity within a postcolonial world.

While foreign policy/Foreign Policy works towards securing a state identity through difference, in the case of this research one has to take into account that narratives of identity as available through foreign policy discourse do not solely rely on *radical* otherness. *Degrees of difference* lead to a possible conceptualisation of identity of the inferior 'other' in terms of *radical otherness* (absolute 'other' with no similarities) and *otherness* ('other' as temporarily progressing towards the 'self' where similarities are routinely drawn) while maintaining the superiority of the 'self' under both attempts of creating an alterity.[128] The model of degrees of difference is also more amenable to creative agency, as identity in politics never remains stable but is susceptible to change and evolution with each successive mode of representation through narratives and counter-narratives (both domestic and bilateral). In this context, the difference created between the 'self' and the 'other' then can be understood in terms of universality (unity, presence, identity) on the inside and particularity (diversity, absence, difference) on the outside.[129] As per R.B.J. Walker's understanding, when attention is paid to the question of 'what is a state' it necessitates a look at the spatial-temporal resolutions of the state identity. Spatial resolution is the relation between universality and particularity and spatial resolution makes temporal resolution possible as well. Inside is an account of time as linear progress, which makes it possible for universality aspirations to come true. Outside the state time is one of repetition and clashes between particular wills. The spatial and temporal together give what Walker calls 'the spatiotemporal resolution' of questions of political community or political

[127] Graciela Moreira-Slepoy, 'The Essentialist Representation of the Colonial Subject in Colonial Discourse', http://www.post-scriptum.org/flash/docs2/art_2002_01_004.pdf (Accessed on 01/09/13).
[128] Hansen, *Security as Practice*, pp. 50-51.
[129] Lene Hansen, 'R.B.J. Walker and International Relations: deconstructing a discipline', in Iver B. Neumann and Ole Weaver eds., *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making?* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 339-360, see p. 334.

identity.[130] Hence identities of race, political economy and gender, have to be considered through spatial and temporal schemes of difference. For example, spatial connotations are always visible in terms of boundaries that involve a delineation of space. As Lene Hansen notes, in foreign policy this delineation has historically centred on nation-state, through which constructions of particular identities of other states, regions and peoples is undertaken. *Spatial* constructions of identity are immediately identifiable through constructions of other countries like 'Russia', 'Israel', 'Lebanon', 'India', 'China', 'Pakistan', and so on. However, representations of foreign policy often involve more complex set of spatial identities that involve geo-political dimensions such as 'Europe', 'West', 'East', 'South Asia', 'North', and 'South'.[131] Geographical dimensions are imbued with political content as articulated through spatial identities. Identities that are racial, economic, and gender in dimension are often constructed through these geo-political spatial dimensions of territories. Secondly, the dimension of time is evident in the schemes of *temporal identity* through representations of difference in race, political economy and gender. Temporal themes such as development, change, transformation, continuity, repetition or stasis are crucial when understanding foreign policy discourse. The narratives of identity are crafted around discourses of 'religion', 'civilisation', 'economic' and 'political' and other forms of *progress* on the one hand and the discourses of *intransience* on the other.[132]

In the constitutive dimension of the national identity as located within the international space, such forms of spatial and temporal dimensions are recurrently utilised to gauge the other through great power narratives. The political, cultural, and financial dimension to the other for instance, is debated in terms of whether the 'other' is progressing towards the 'self' or not. In the case of United States, as the analysis will go on to consider, the criteria of 'democracy' is used as a yardstick when dealing with the nuclear issues in order to assess whether India as the

[130] *Ibid.*, pp. 346-347.
[131] Hansen, *Security as Practice*, p. 47.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

'other' is progressing towards the Western 'self' or not. Herein both forms of *radical otherness* in terms of non-progression and *otherness* in terms of progression towards the self are utilised on which suitable policy actions are then based. While great power narratives can be considered through imperial lens, such instances of temporality and spatiality through race, political economy, and gender are also evident in the previous studies of Empires. In his seminal study, *The Conquests of America*, Tzvetan Todorov demonstrates that both Cortes and Las Casas constructed Indians as the 'savage' other to legitimise Spanish occupation of South America. Nevertheless, these discourses differed radically in constructing the temporal identity of this other, leading to subsequent evaluations of which policy should be rightfully employed. Cortes's discourse legitimised the annihilation of Indians, whereas Las Casas promoted a discourse of Christian egalitarianism, which stressed peaceful conversion and assimilation of Indians into Christendom. Analytically, the identity of the American Indians was constructed as the 'savage' but was linked to different discourses and enshrined with different qualities, which promoted transformation through two markedly different policies of annihilation or assimilation.[133] This is because difference was always reduced to inferiority in the discourses of Cortes, whereby Indians were represented as 'barbarians' and 'beasts'. Whereas difference in Las Casas's discourse was limited to equality and hence the Indian 'other' was termed as the 'noble savage' with innate qualities that would enable them to leave behind the brutality and proceed towards more acceptable virtues of Christianity, deemed as the universal code of cultural, ethical, and religious conduct. Todorov makes an important observation that despite operating on different conceptualisation of the 'other', the ultimate aim of both Cortes and Las Casas was the same, which was to *annex* the Indians as per the *colonialist ideology* either through 'force' under Cortes, or through 'religious reform' under Las Casas. Under both

[133] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, cited in Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, pp. 42-43. For more elaboration on Spanish conquests see, Beatrix Pastor Bodmer, *The Armature of Conquest: Spanish Accounts of the Discovery of America, 1492-1589*, translated by Lydia Longstreth Hunt (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992).

instances, difference is maintained for 'it consists in identifying the other purely and simply with one's own 'ego ideal''.[134]

It can be ascertained that a narrative identity focuses on subjective forms of knowledge that are utilised through discursive power to maintain the difference between the superior West and the inferior East in great power politics. The narrative of self can be used to destabilise established identities, however, in most cases the narratives are used to maintain the continuation of a collective difference from the other. State identity is negotiated within a certain political context both internally and externally, but the main purpose is to understand its distinct forms and authority that constitutes a particular performative through repeated enactment.[135] Foreign Policy provides a means for these repeated enactments which are made possible only through 'foreign policy' so as to constitute a state by engendering particular narratives of state identity. Understanding a 'text' and its relation to emplotment therefore becomes crucial.

Analysing emplotment: Intertextuality as methodology

A narrative identity involves an analysis of emplotment through which stories about the self are created and recreated within a temporal dimension of the past, the present and the future. Hence narrative analysis is exclusively textual in nature, as plots crafted around certain ruptures, focus on utilisation of text available within the cultural narratives that are historically contingent. A text at any given point of time emerges as unique as well as connected to other textual sources and by this implication texts, whether they are literary or non-literary, lack any kind of independent meaning. An act of reading leads to the discovery of intertextual relations and thereby the act of discovering a meaning thus becomes an activity of tracing relations between different texts.[136] The text then becomes an intertext or more famously as Julia

[134] Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, p. 165.
[135] Hansen, *Security as Practice*, p. 72.
[136] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 1.

Kristeva coined the term *intertextuality*.[137] By this implication, all cultures and thus the world itself becomes a text.[138] All discourses therefore are interpretations of the world, or more appropriately as Bakhtin puts it, 'responses and calls to other discourse'.[139] Particular text /texts are always permeated with traces of other words. The sense of interconnectedness between cultures is particularly significant from the postcolonial context, a context that arises from the meeting of different cultures. Stuart Hall contends that cultures are always worked through texts and at the same time textuality is never enough. In other words, the theoretical field of cultural studies conceived in terms of text and context of intertextuality never provide an adequate theoretical account of culture's relations and its context.[140] All textual practice assume 'a tension' which Said describes as the study of texts in its affiliations with 'institutions, offices, agencies, classes, academics, corporations, groups, ideologically defined parties and professions, nation's races and genders'.[141] Similarly, Michael Shapiro evaluates that a text is largely institutionalised and is reflected in the ready-to-hand language practices, the historically produced styles – grammars, rhetorics, and narrative structures through which the familiar world is continuously interpreted and reproduced.[142]

To understand the process of intertextuality it is necessary to understand how the links between different texts are being made. The two main criteria through which this is traceable are *explicit* and *implicit* references to other texts. According to Kristeva, no text is independent of the other and for purpose of the generation of meaning each text draws upon the other. This is done through the process of *explicit references* to older works, particularly if the new text is

[137] John Lechte and Mary Zournazi eds., *The Kristeva Critical Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).
[138] Michael J. Shapiro, 'Textualizing Global Politics', in Der Derain and Shapiro eds., *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics*, pp. 11-22, see p. 11.
[139] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevski's Poetics*, translated and ed., C. Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 53, cited in Kishori Nayak, 'Intertextuality and the Postcolonial Writer: An Analysis of Shashi Deshpande's and Arundhati Roy's Fiction', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 2004, https://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/crcl/article/viewFile/10684/8241 (Accessed on 24/02/14).
[140] Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies', in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 277-294.
[141] Edward Said cited in Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies'.
[142] Shapiro, 'Textualizing Global Politics', p. 11.

fundamentally focused on building upon past works or criticising them. For instance, Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* draws extensively from the classical realist text of Hobbes's *Leviathan* making explicit references to state and sovereignty, reinterpreted and reintroduced in the new form. Intertextuality also entails *implicit referencing* wherein a particular text draws not on explicit theories but concepts of the larger body of texts related to same subject. For instance, 'democracy', 'capitalism', 'danger' and 'socialism' are terms recurrently utilised in American discourse for myriad range of purposes. Text thus makes references to older text to construct the legitimacy of its own reading while simultaneously, reproducing the legitimacy and status of the older ones.[143]

The constant connection between the old and new texts makes the context of a particular textual process very significant. Kristeva's model of intertextuality affords a greater understanding of text and the larger socio-political processes. For Kristeva, intertextuality is a *signifying practice*. A signifying practice means the establishment and the countervailing of a sign system. The establishment of a sign system calls for the identity of the speaking subject within a social framework, which is he/she recognises as a basis for that identity.[144] 'Countervailing the sign system is done by having the subject undergo an unsettling, questionable process; this indirectly challenges the social framework with which he had previously identified, and it thus coincides with times of abrupt changes, renewal, or revolution in society'.[145] As Kristeva notes, a text is therefore *productivity*, which implies; 'first, that its relationship to the language in which it is situated is redistributive (destructive-constructive)', and second, 'that it is a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralise one another'.[146] Thus a textual space always operates

[143] Elaine Martin, 'Intertextuality: An Introduction', *The Comparatist*, vol. 35, no.1, 2011, pp. 148-151.
And for an in-depth elaboration on explicit and implicit references see, Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, p. 57.
[144] Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, translated by Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S. Roudiez (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, Limited, 1980), p. 18.
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

in three dimensions of writing/speaking subject, addressee, and exterior texts. The word's status is therefore defined *horizontally* (the word in the text belongs to both writing/speaking subject and addressee), and *vertically* (the word in the text is oriented toward an anterior or synchronic literary corpus).[147] It is important to note however, that the addressee is always included within the discourse itself. 'Hence horizontal axis (subject-addressee) and vertical axis (text-content) coincide, bringing to light an important fact: each word (text) is an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read'.[148] The intersection of text with larger socio-political processes as Kristeva suggests, makes is possible to pay greater attention to political changes. By the 'insertion of the text into history', Kristeva argues that the text responds to, accentuates, and reworks past texts, and in doing so helps to remake the history as well as contribute to the wider processes of change.[149] The concept of intertextuality, according to Kristeva, thus affords the text an ability to remain connected to the larger historical and social contexts in which it comes into production and/or interacts with its readership. In his interpretation of Kristeva's intertextuality, Zack Weir observes:

> Though contextual connections must retain a certain level of arbitrariness, this does not necessarily preclude the formation of meaningful relationships between texts and the circumstances of their production.[150]

This sets Kristeva in opposition to poststructuralists including Roland Barthes for whom the open-endedness of intertextuality highlights the radical uncertainty at the heart of any text, giving birth to indeterminate interplay between words and texts, the production of infinite meaning and the insurmountable distance between text and context. Kristeva's unwillingness to totally divorce text from context leads her to elaborate on the situatedness of the discourse, despite the fact that such situatedness does not retain any fundamental level of stability.[151] Thus

[147] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[148] *Ibid*.
[149] Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p. 102.
[150] Zach Weir, 'How Soon Is Now? Reading and the Postcolonial Present', *Postcolonial Text*, vol. 2, no. 4, 2006, pp. 1-20, see pp. 5-6.
[151] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

from a narrative perspective, the mechanisms of Kristevan intertextuality become especially important as it encourages socio-historical and political connections between reader and text in the space of the historical present. As opposed to poststructuralist, Kristeva's version of intertextuality also takes into account the power of words to interact and affect change in the real world. As Norman Fairclough contends, intertextuality builds in *creativity* as an option. Change involves forms of transgression, crossing boundaries, or putting together existing conventions into new forms.[152] The concept of intertextuality points towards productivity of texts, but this productivity is not available to people as a limitless space for textual innovation. It is socially limited and constrained and conditional upon relations of power. Intertextuality, in this sense, neatly fits into the operations of narrative power as investigated above.

This thesis builds explicitly on this model of intertextuality as it enables an investigation of change in the Nuclear Foreign Policy of the United States during the Clinton and the Bush administrations. Such a focus on intertextuality means that official representations of India do not occur in a void, but are influenced by historical texts as well as counter-narratives available within a discursive economy. The documentary analysis as per this understanding includes the study of official discourse of the political leaders who are responsible for the execution of policies. This model identifies the texts produced by presidents, politicians and senior military staff, and heads of the think tanks and institutions that have stake in governmental politics. The texts produced by these actors include speeches, political debates, interviews, articles, books and the texts that have had intertextual influence on their discourses. While interviews are important, the interviews that I have conducted as part of the research for this thesis are specifically utilised as supporting material. This is due to the fact that narratives of the 'self' are always contextually specific and thus require primary material as produced within a particular *time* (now) and *space* (here) to credibly ascertain the performative aspect of narrative identity. To study US Nuclear Foreign Policy from a prism of great power narratives is to

[152] Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, p. 96.

understand how particular identity is stabilised through intertextual links whilst encountering and suppressing criticism as well as incorporating counter-narratives. The oppositional discourse or counter-narratives can be located on a wide spectrum of the discourse of oppositional parties as well as influential individuals and public movements in the domestic context. In the bilateral context of US-India relations it is the official public discourse of Indian governing parties.

Selection of texts

The primary research question of this thesis focuses on the great power narratives of the United States and the resultant constitution of nuclear policies towards India during the Bill Clinton and the George W. Bush administrations, thus ultimately making this thesis a piece of comparative research that studies *identity* over an extended period of time. It is necessary to keep in purview that US identity creation does not occur in a void but that it is interactive in nature, wherein subsequent identity constructions incorporate the discourse from domestic counter-narratives as well as from the Indian counter-narratives. Representations through narratives and counter-narratives are thus equally important in understanding the reinstatement of US great power identity. Moreover, the research question demands a clear identification of utilisation of binary opposites in the form of Western/European (inventiveness, rationality, adulthood, sanity, scientific, progressive) and Non-European/Other (imitativeness, irrationality, emotional, instinctual, childhood, insanity) in order to understand US identity construction and the constitution of policies in relation to nuclear India.[153]

As discussed previously, this scheme of dichotomous identity production can be fruitfully discerned through a focus on 'articulation'. Articulation involves a study of linguistic elements like, nouns, adjectives, metaphors and analogies, which are utilised in the narratives of the 'self' versus the 'other'. Articulations also present an opportunity to explore intertextual links

[153] *Discovery and Recovery: Reading and Conducting Research Responsibly*, p. 57, http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/41612_2.pdf (Accessed on 06/03/14).

between these linguistic elements as evident with each successive attempt of emplotment. As subsequent chapters will investigate, the noun 'civilisation' has been used recurrently in US administrations' narratives in relation to India, wherein the former is identified with adjectives such as 'advanced' and 'peace-loving' with analogies rooted in Christendom through which the 'other' gets defined as a predominantly Hindu civilisation. These linguistic elements have been combined in various different ways to produce contextually significant representations and thus have traversed from radical otherness where the 'other' is framed not a 'peace-loving' nation, to otherness where similarities between Christian and Hindu civilisations are highlighted. Research that aims to examine such contextually contingent representations over a long time-period thus needs a focus on 'discursive events'.

The concept of the *event* is a broad term, which can include specific political developments such as the European integration after Maastricht Treaty, or a definitive speech such as Theodore Roosevelt's 'Duties of American Citizenship'. An event can also encompass a major war like the World Wars I and II, and an event which defies accepted moral codes such as Rwandan Genocide or the massacre of the Cambodian population by Khmer Rouge. Events are thus significant developments that have had a significant impact on nation's history or current policies.[154] To understand events from a narrative perspective is to understand them as *discursive events*. A discursive event, as Foucault notes, 'is a grouping that is always finite and limited at any moment to the linguistic sequences that have been formulated; they may be innumerable, they may, in sheer size, exceed the capacities of recording, memory, or reading: nevertheless they form a finite grouping'.[155] Borrowing from Foucault, Norman Fairclough notes that discursive events are *specific events* that open up a space for a struggle over contradictions.[156] Discursive events thus offer an opportunity either to preserve traditional discursive hegemonies and relations or to transform these very relations so that new

[154] Hansen, *Security as Practice*, p. 80.
[155] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 27.
[156] Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, p. 97.

hegemonies are created. For the purpose of this thesis, 'discursive events' are considered to be the major 'Foreign Policies' that have impacted US-India bilateral relations. A Foreign Policy is considered as a discursive event, because the development of a particular policy requires tremendous amount of effort to sustain that policy before and even after its announcement. The 'foreign policy' with a small 'f' provides a discursive economy through which the state based 'Foreign Policy' with a big 'F' can reproduce the self-other relations and the internal/external divide by containing the challenges to state identity.[157] For instance, the 'Framework Civilian Nuclear Deal' between US and India in the year 2005 is a case in point. A policy announcement thus becomes a potential discursive event that works to maintain or alter particular discursive hegemonies.

Moreover in a comparative study, multiple discursive events can be located in different temporal periods. These events may be connected by *common issues* in different times or *multiple issues* within a same time period. For instance, a comparative study on US military invasion in Iraq in 1991 and 2003 makes two events located in different time periods but related in their location of the 'Middle East' and the concept of 'rogue' state. On the other hand, Campbell in his study investigates American policy on War on Drugs and the construction of Japan as a threat to US security.[158] This identifies development of two completely different events within a same time period. Another example of multiple events study within the same time period is available in Doty's *Imperial Encounters*, wherein she compares the counterinsurgency operations of United States in Philippines and Britain in Kenya from the period of 1950-55.[159] The study of multiple discursive events makes it easier to locate the development and transformation of the 'self'. As Lene Hansen accurately notes:

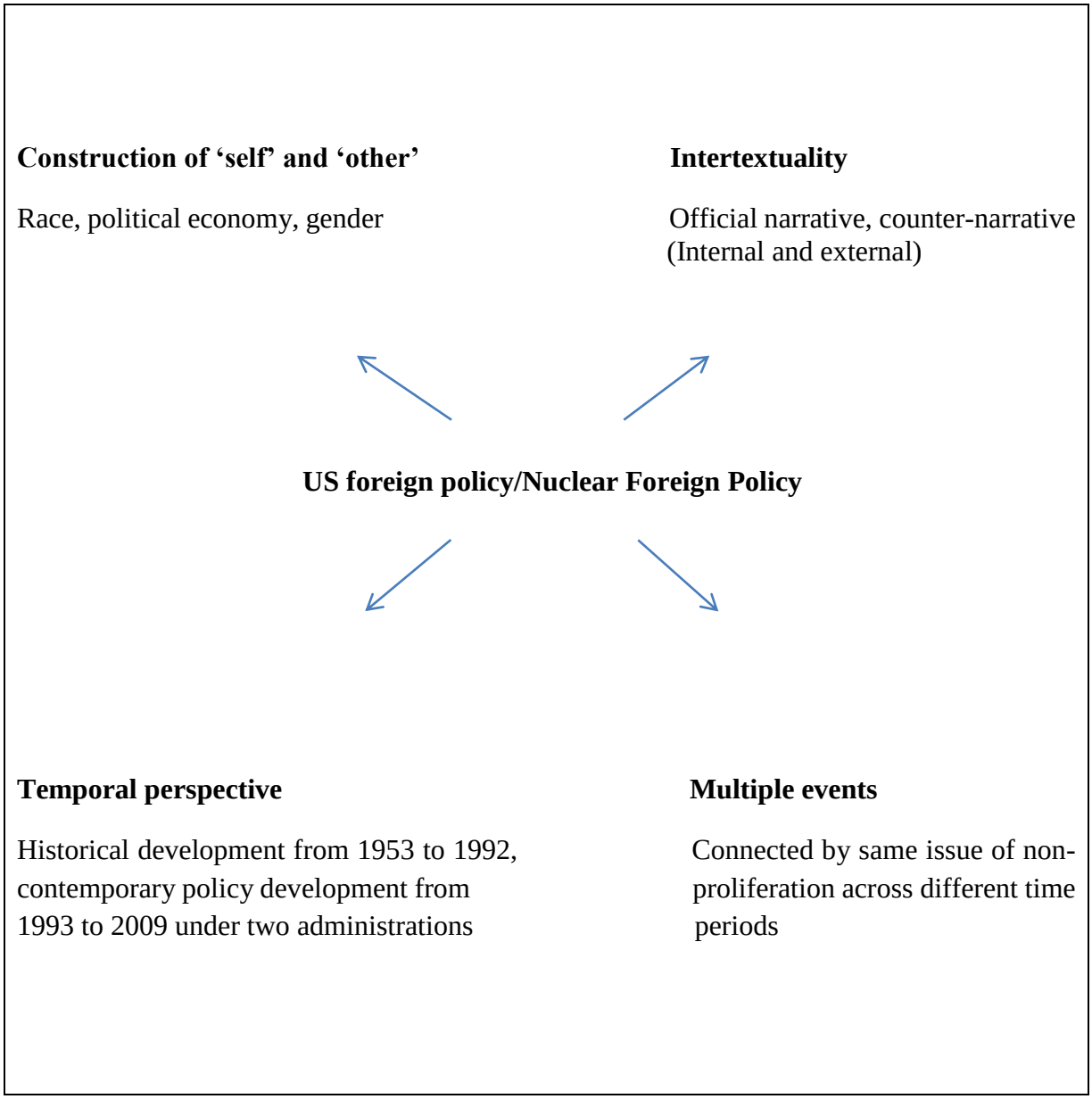
> …a comparison across time allows for an identification of patterns of transformation and reproduction while a comparison of issues located within the same temporal

[157] See p. 82 of this thesis.
[158] Campbell, *Writing Security*.
[159] Doty, *Imperial Encounters*.

> horizon generates knowledge of the discourse of the Self across politically pertinent areas.[160]

This thesis builds on an identification of multiple discursive events within different time periods that defined US-India bilateral relations as connected by the *common issue* of 'nuclear non-proliferation'. In particular, the aim is to establish how these discursive events have collided with the US' great power identity as inextricably connected to the global nuclear order. For example, for US-India bilateral nuclear relations during the Cold War period, the focus is on 'discursive events' like The Colombo Plan (1960), the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), and the Tarapur Dispute (1982-1985). This initial investigation sets up the context for the analysis of the post-Cold War period, which is the main historical focus of the research. The thesis investigates the Bill Clinton administration's attempt to maintain a US great power identity and considers discursive events, like the 'Sanctions' in 1998, the 'Five Benchmarks' in 1998-1999 and Clinton's visit to India in March 2000. In a similar manner, the discursive events under examination during the George W. Bush administration are the 'Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP)' in September 2004, the 'Framework US-India Civilian Nuclear Deal' in July 2005, and the final signing of the deal into US law in October 2008. This gives a conceptual model of US nuclear foreign policy and identity as shown below:[161]

[160] Hansen discusses about the events within a temporal period at length in, *Security as Practice*, p. 80.
[161] For more on this design see Hansen, p. 81.



Conclusion

This chapter sought to establish a theory of narrative identity and action through a focus on great power identity and its inextricable link to the global nuclear order. It demonstrated that identity is the basis of action and hence the two are interdependent and are therefore locked in a constitutive relationship. Identity is achieved through emplotment that involves creating stories and situating the self within these stories. The focus on the 'self' automatically engenders difference from 'other(s)' and rests on the politics of representation wherein the 'other(s)' is/are similarly involved in differentiating practices. Furthermore, the chapter demonstrated that power plays a crucial role in a narrative process, as power establishes

selective criteria for narratives used in the process of emplotment. A great power identity is thus about a process of maintaining the 'self' within the dominant interpretations of the global nuclear order. While the great power identity is crucial, I have argued, that in the case of US-India bilateral relations, the great power identity should be considered from an imperial viewpoint, which engages with postcolonial encounters between the great power and the rising power by utilising identity parameters of race, political economy, and gender. The knowledge/power nexus enables an understanding of narrative identity imbued with power in these postcolonial encounters. This chapter also focused on the necessity to consider state's Foreign Policy as a narrative practice that engenders the state through its very operation. This narrative practice is only made possible due to matrices of interpretations provided by 'foreign policy' which works as differentiating practices at all levels. The task that Foreign Policy performs is to create boundaries for the state that enable a state to survive as a unit or a collective. In the evaluation of Foreign Policy that establishes difference through narratives, I also argued that difference as created through intersubjective processes cannot be limited to *radical otherness* but also actively rests on notions of *otherness* that can include certain invocations of similarities. Finally, I have argued that intertextuality, with a focus on articulations aimed at analysing texts generated around Foreign Policy 'discursive events' in bilateral relations, presents a viable methodology to examine narrative identity established through myriad representations that are culturally and historically contingent.

Based on the above evaluations, the next chapter aims to introduce the concept of American subjectivity as crafted in and around the Atoms for Peace programme. It is argued that Atoms for Peace was a first sustained effort to create alternative interpretations of American nuclear subjectivity through a focus on the civilian nuclear domain. The process thus involved crafting of American national identity through emplotment. Due consideration is also given to the process of interaction with counter-narratives in the process of narrativising *a* universal identity. The consideration of both official narratives and counter-narratives enable

demonstration of how narrative identity explicitly governs US international nuclear policies and vice-versa. Thus Chapter Three acts as an empirical chapter exclusively focuses on American nuclear subjectivity, through which it becomes possible to analyse how this American subjectivity was then utilised in US nuclear interactions with India in the Cold War and the post-Cold War period.

Chapter Three

Creating American Nuclear Subjectivity: 'Atoms for Peace' in the Campaign for a New Global Nuclear Order

Introduction

Chapter Two argued that identity is continually constituted and reconstituted in relations of difference that are central to the foreign policy/Foreign Policy of a state. Since the Nuclear Foreign Policy of the United States is the primary concern of this thesis, in terms of the politics of self-other relations and how this dynamic interaction constituted the post-Cold War nuclear policies of United States vis-à-vis India, it is important, first and foremost to analyse, how American nuclear subjectivity was initially crafted. The implementation of the Atoms for Peace programme in 1953 provided an opportunity for US elites to craft a new role for the US that was global in dimension. More importantly, this new global role was set within new dimensions of nuclear abilities different from previous connotations of destructive nuclear capability. Atoms for Peace instead sought to enhance the international dimension of American nuclear identity, by exclusively focusing on the positives of atomic science. In other words, while the post-World War II nuclear environment was mired in the secrecy of the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union and the attempts by some of their key allies to acquire a nuclear capacity, and where international debate was rife with concerns about the repetition of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Atoms for Peace advocated an international nuclear regime that would increase transparency by creating clear demarcations between weapons and civilian forms of nuclear energy. This chapter seeks to delineate the competing great power narratives of American identity especially set in the period from 1951 to 1960. This period was about legitimising the Atoms for Peace programme, both domestically and internationally, and thereby the American nuclear subjectivity required a sustained effort in the presence of counter-narratives concerning the arms race, proliferation, and the fear of nuclear war.

My attention to the period of 1951-1960 is based on the international implementation of Atoms for Peace that was set in a wider context of bipolar rivalry as well as an acute urgency within the Eisenhower administration to provide legitimacy for US nuclear weapons. This was especially evident in terms of crafting the American global 'leadership' of the 'free world'. The terminology 'leadership of the free world' attained greater political significance during this period due to the 'second red scare' or the 'anti-communist' propaganda. American nuclear weapons, in this context, were constructed to be unthreatening because US was idealised as a perfect society. The democratic ideal of US and its friends had to be defended at any cost from an ever encroaching communism.[1] Thus for the first time concepts like atoms for 'peaceful purposes' aimed at 'peace of mankind' in an international environment where 'savagery' and 'duplicity' was rampant were circulated with the aim of defining American leadership in global nuclear matters. The critical constructivist aim is to problematise such grand narratives not only in terms of constructing a state, but also in terms of the continuation of 'America' in the geographical and territorial terms. The Atoms for Peace programme, as officially implemented in 1953, is taken to be the main Foreign Policy 'discursive event'. The period before and after 1953, therefore, is analytically important in order to understand stories regarding America's nuclear role and the nuclear subjectivity that became the central signifier.

The chapter starts with an overview of the Atoms for Peace programme as the main discursive event by recounting the formation and movement of US control over nuclear science. This sets the context for an analysis of great power narratives through which I aim to trace the stories that elites in the Eisenhower administration told about what the American international nuclear role was, and in the process how America was differentiated from the Soviet Union and

[1] For more details on this see, Richard Dean Burns and Joseph M. Siracusa, *A Global History of the Nuclear Arms Race: Weapons, Strategy, and Politics* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2013), p. 60. Nancy E. Bernhard, *U.S Television News and Cold War Propaganda: 1947-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Michael Barson and Steven Heller, *Red Scared! The Commie Menace In Propaganda And Popular Culture* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001). Landon R.Y. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013). 'Cold War propaganda', http://alphahistory.com/coldwar/cold-war-propaganda/ (Accessed on 14/06/15).

'others'. The objective is to analyse competing narratives about nuclear America - the ones that were accepted and those that were retained on the margins, thus depicting the workings of narrative power. In deconstructing American nuclear subjectivity, the chapter demonstrates that the link between state and identity cannot be taken for granted. On the contrary, identity is always deeply rooted in a discursive structure, wherein what a 'state' is, remains open to contention.[2] Thus Foreign Policy becomes integral to the formation of the state.

The Atoms for Peace programme and the declaration of America's global nuclear role

President Dwight D. Eisenhower was determined to solve the 'fearful atomic dilemma' by finding some way through which 'the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to restoring his life'.[3] The President's Atoms for Peace speech before the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on 8 December 1953 elicited a desire to solve this problem by transforming the destructiveness of the atom into a benefit for the mankind. The principle aim of the proposal was to seek 'an acceptable solution' to the atomic armaments race whilst encouraging 'world-wide investigation into most effective peacetime uses of fissionable material'.[4] President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace speech embodied the most important nuclear initiative from which mushroomed the panoply of peaceful atomic programmes. For the first time, the controversy over nuclear technology escaped the barricades of elite debate and spilled into the public domain. From here on control over nuclear science, whether domestically or internationally, was an issue for all Americans.[5]

The Atoms for Peace programme reflected a coping mechanism for the Eisenhower administration amidst newly constructed nuclear realities in which the propensity for a

[2] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 75.
[3] Press Release, 'Atoms for Peace' Speech, 8 December 1953, DDE's Papers as President, Speech Series, Box 5, United Nations Speech, p. 9, http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder13.pdf (Accessed on 02/01/15).
[4] *Ibid.*, see p. 7 and p. 8.
[5] Foreword to 'Atoms for Peace' document collection, Presidential Library, http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace.html (Accessed on 07/09/13).

catastrophic nuclear war had increased. The accelerating arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union had resulted in a development of thermonuclear bombs, whose destructive power was several times greater than the bombs used in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The uncertainty over nuclear safety was further compounded by the fact that rapid strides in technological development after the World War II raised the spectre of this destructive technology spreading into parts of the world where it could be misused for personal and corrupt gains. Historically, the US government's concern over the diffusion of weapons technology materialised even before the manufacture of the first nuclear explosive and the possible military use against Japan. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had placed the Manhattan bomb development project under strict secrecy. The nuclear technology was made available only to wartime allies Britain and Canada, in accordance with the Quebec Agreement of August 1943, which committed the Atlantic allies not to communicate any atomic information or share sensitive technology or material with parties without mutual consent.[6] The destructiveness of the atomic bomb, as evident after the attack on Japan, compelled President Truman to argue that Americans alone 'must constitute ourselves the trustees of this new force' and hence mandated the Department of State to devise an international control plan.[7] As the governing elites in the United States debated the proposals for international arms control, the Atomic Energy Act in August 1946 (McMahon Act) was enacted. The act made the entire nuclear programme secret and also created an independent civilian Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to oversee nuclear research and development and the control of US nuclear forces.[8] It is

[6] U.S. Department of State, 'Articles of Agreement Governing Collaboration between the Authorities of the USA and the UK in the Matter of Tube Alloys', Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS): The Conferences at Washington and Quebec, 1943 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 1117-1119, cited in Peter R. Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace', *Arms Control Today*, December 2003, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2003_12/Lavoy (Accessed on 09/09/13).

[7] 'Radio Report to the American People on the Potsdam Conference', 9 August 1945, in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S Truman, 1945* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 213, cited in Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.

[8] The Atomic Energy Act of 1946 also known as the McMahon Act, strengthened government control over the nuclear related activities, such as uranium mining, nuclear fuel production, etc. This legislation nationalised all aspects of nuclear ventures, and also outlawed US exports of nuclear materials and technological knowhow to other states, including war-time ally, the United Kingdom. For more on the history of US Atomic Energy Acts see, Hina Pandey, 'Atoms for Peace: Balancing the Promotion of Nuclear Energy and Non-Proliferation', *Air Power Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2011, pp. 25-45.

important to note that the adoption of unilateral denial meant an effective end to all nuclear collaboration, even with the UK, the US's chief partner in the Manhattan Project. The decision of denial was only taken after the USSR reversed the sequence of events proposed by the Baruch Plan, i.e., the destruction of existing weapons should come first, international control later.[9]

It was only with the onset of the Eisenhower Presidency that the policies of strict nuclear secrecy and technology denial were largely abandoned, mainly because of the Soviet Union's expanding development of weapons technology. In an environment largely governed by ideological warfare, the expectation was that the Soviet Union would soon be able to provide nuclear assistance to other countries resulting in a huge propaganda victory at the US expense. The Atoms for Peace programme thus came at a juncture where global rivalries in geo-political, socio-cultural, economic, and military terrains were being negotiated. In a celebrated address to the UNGA, Eisenhower described Atoms for Peace as a campaign designed to 'hasten the day when fear of the atom will begin to disappear from the minds of people'.[10] The President envisioned that the nuclear energy could be channelled towards improving the socio-economic condition of humankind. In August 1954, the US Atomic Energy Act was revised to allow nuclear technology and material exports to countries that committed not to divert the technology for weapons purposes. The eventual establishment of International Atomic Energy

[9] Harald Muller, David Fischer, and Wolfgang Kotter, *Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Global Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 15. Bernard Baruch presented the Baruch Plan before the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission (UNAEC) on 14 June 1946. Under the Baruch Plan the Atomic Development Authority would oversee the development and use of atomic energy, manage any nuclear installation with the ability to produce nuclear weapons, and inspect any nuclear facility conducting research for peaceful purposes. The plan also prohibited the illegal possession of an atomic bomb, the seizure of facilities administered by the Atomic Development Authority, and punished violators who interfered with inspections. Once the plan was fully implemented, the United States was to begin the process of destroying its nuclear arsenal. On the other hand, the Soviets strongly opposed any plan that allowed the United States to retain its nuclear monopoly, not to mention international inspections of Soviet domestic nuclear facilities. Baruch pushed for a formal vote before the end of the year in the hopes that, even if it did not pass, it would demonstrate the unreasonableness of the Soviet Union's objections to a proposal that would spare the world a nuclear arms race. The vote was held on 30 December with 10 of the UNAEC's 12 members in favor, while the other two members (the Soviet Union and Poland) abstained. The vote required unanimity to pass. As such, the Polish and Soviet abstentions thwarted the adoption of the Baruch Plan. For more information see, 'The Acheson Lilienthal & Baruch Plans', 1946, US Department of the State, Office of the Historian, http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/BaruchPlans (Accessed on 20/09/13).

[10] President Dwight D. Eisenhower cited in Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.

Agency (IAEA) in 1957 as a cooperative arms control dialogue allowed the United States to provide nuclear training and technical information to 'friendly' nations.[11] Atoms for Peace was chiefly intended as a means of nuclear disarmament – by 'siphoning off' to IAEA the stockpiles of fissile material reserved for military use by the USA and the USSR. Atoms for Peace replaced the McMahon Act policy of denial, whose failure had been demonstrated by tests of the first Soviet bomb in 1949, the British bomb in 1952 and the first Soviet hydrogen bomb in 1953.[12]

Atoms for Peace was a monumental undertaking at the time when the 'perils' of nuclear technology were framed as detrimental to the future of the world. However, for the governing Eisenhower administration, Atoms for Peace provided an opportunity for custodianship and stewardship that could enable America to influence and guide the worldwide development and procurement of nuclear technology. As Eisenhower noted in his speech at a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) meeting: 'We conceived and developed the concept of 'Atoms for Peace'. The International Atomic Agency, now functioning at Vienna, is a product of our imagination and persistence'.[13] Atoms for Peace was the first pillar on which other international nuclear regimes like IAEA, NPT and Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) were built and even have relevance today. Atoms for Peace, therefore, as a 'discursive event' was important as it enabled negotiation of American identity. It provided an opportunity to the administration to craft a 'sense of self' – a universal identity of nuclear America. This identity was projective of the future becoming and simultaneously rooted in the present through which the past was being negotiated. The great power narratives that underscored American 'exceptionalism' in the nuclear realm were thus important for the maintenance of American identity in both the

[11] Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.
[12] Muller, Fischer, and Kotter, *Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Global Order*, p. 16.
[13] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Opening of the NATO Meetings in Paris', 16 December 1957. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10962 (Accessed on 02/09/13).

national and international domain.[14] The Atoms for Peace programme created an exception for the United States by legitimising its nuclear weapons procurement. As Kenneth Osgood notes, 'the Atoms for Peace sought to manage the fears of nuclear annihilation by cultivating the image of 'friendly' atom'.[15] These images of the friendly atom were dexterously crafted in order to divert attention from the nuclear weapons build-up taking place under the doctrine of massive retaliation.[16]

Great power narratives and US nuclear identity

An analysis of the material available in terms of official narratives and counter-narratives during and after the implementation of the Atoms for Peace programme, demonstrates a repetitive occurrence of four central great power narratives around which the American nuclear identity was being negotiated. These four central great power narratives can be identified as: establishing 'peace' in an atomic age; a 'democratic' state standing for 'freedom'; advancing science of atom for 'world betterment'; and ensuring 'economic progress' of the world. The following section undertakes a critical evaluation of these four central narratives through the analytical tool of emplotment and the incorporation of difference when telling the stories about the self in the context of narrative power.

[14] American 'exceptionalism' refers to a notion that the United States is a uniquely free nation built on democratic principles which confers a special responsibility on the 'state' to maintain global ideals of peace and liberty. This exceptional character of America bestows upon it the duty to guide the nations of the world in a right and fruitful direction. For a general overview see, Trevor McCrisken, *American Exceptionalism and the Legacy of Vietnam: US Foreign Policy since 1974* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Destiny: American Exceptionalism & Empire* (Ithaca: New York, Cornell University Press, 1985). Deborah L. Madsen, *American Exceptionalism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998). Fabian Hilfrich, *Debating American Exceptionalism: Empire and Democracy in the Wake of the Spanish-American War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). Charles W. Dunn eds., *American Exceptionalism: The Origins, History, and Future of the Nation's Greatest Strength* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2013).

[15] Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), p. 159.

[16] *Ibid*.

Establishing 'peace' in an atomic age

The first major and arguably the most important narrative that comes out in the various official speeches is the American commitment to discourses of 'peace'. While narratives of 'peace of mankind' are numerous, a second justification for peace focuses on the Christian beliefs that made America a religious country and hence a civilised nation working towards global peace. Nuclear weapons, in this sense, were in good hands as far as America was concerned. The narrative also simultaneously juxtaposed Soviet Union as a war-mongering and intransigent nation bent upon disrupting international peace. The violent and peace-hating nature of Soviet Union was accredited to Communist ideology, which was framed as 'atheist' by nature.[17]

In his seminal Atoms for Peace speech, Eisenhower identified America's 'deep belief' in the dangers that existed in the world. In the next line, immediately this belief was transferred to the belief of the world as it was proclaimed that the danger is 'shared by all' in the atomic age. As he notes: 'Clearly, if the peoples of the world are to conduct an intelligent search for peace, they must be armed with the significant facts of today's existence'.[18] America was thus constructed as a supporter of 'peace' and 'betterment' for mankind. The construction of US identity as a peace loving country automatically conferred on US a particular moral authority and thereby exceptionalism. Eisenhower further expounded:

> So my country's purpose is to help us move out of the dark chamber of horrors into light, to find a way by which the minds of men, the hopes of men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward toward peace and happiness and well-being.[19]

[17] For more on this see, Martin J. Medhurst and H. W. Brands eds., *Critical Reflections on the Cold War: Linking Rhetoric and History* (Texas: A & M University Press, 2000). Scott Kaufman, *Project Plowshare: The Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Explosives in Cold War America* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2013). Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
[18] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Atoms for Peace', Address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, New York City, 8 December 1953, http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/3358 (Accessed on 02/09/13).
[19] Eisenhower, 'Atoms for Peace', Address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

The above paragraph reaffirms the universality of American desire as the desire of the peace-loving people everywhere. Such construction establishes a natural leadership of America for mankind. In fact, peace and freedom for mankind were the core concepts in the Atoms for Peace rhetoric. Not only does this accentuate the image of the US as a responsible nuclear power, but also creates a sensible US who understands that the world was unequivocally doomed in absence of such proactive measures. The above statement also occurs in the middle of the speech. As Medhurst notes, by holding the past efforts at reconciliation until the middle portion of the speech, Eisenhower is dramatically able to juxtapose the failures of the past with his visionary plan for the future.[20] This is significant as the statements in the first half of the speech are connected with statements in the latter half of the speech thereby creating a clear demarcation between the West and the East and the relentless effort of the former to create everlasting peaceful conditions. For instance, in the first half, again a reference was made to the past by focusing on the US-Soviet Union nuclear tensions as Eisenhower noted:

> To pause there would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that two atomic colossi are doomed malevolently to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world. To stop there would be to accept helplessly the probability of civilization destroyed-the annihilation of the irreplaceable heritage of mankind handed down to us generation from generation—and the condemnation of mankind to begin all over again the age-old struggle upward from savagery toward decency, and right, and justice.[21]

This paragraph uses the graphic language of doom scenario by differentiating US identity as 'decent', 'right' and 'just' as opposed to 'savagery'. In the following lines of the Atoms for Peace speech, the whole of the western world was brought into this civilian and decent side of the identity as Eisenhower further remarks: 'The United States and its allies, Great Britain and France, have over the past months tried to take some of these steps. Let no one say that we shun the conference table'.[22] This statement recreates the US as a 'Western' country, a part of

[20] Martin J. Medhurst, 'Eisenhower's 'atoms for peace' speech: A case study in the strategic use of language', *Communication Monographs*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 204-220, see pp. 208-209.
[21] Eisenhower, 'Atoms for Peace', Address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.
[22] Eisenhower, 'Atoms for Peace', Address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

larger Western hemisphere (and therefore civilised) and differentiates itself from Soviet Union (East), which was framed as a non-cooperative nation. It especially refers to the Soviet intransigence during the implementation of the Baruch Plan that led to its demise.[23] The continuation of uninhibited atomic development was thus framed as a continuation of 'dark ages' and deterioration from 'cosmos' into 'chaos'.[24] Herein America's proposal was framed as a source of 'light' and 'progress'.[25] Calvin Schrag notes that a narrative supplies the 'horizon of possible meanings' and some of these meanings have been articulated in stories already told. Narrative then comprises the continuing context in terms of the expanding horizon of a retentional background and a protentional foreground, in which and against which the 'self' is called into being, is played out and is made sense off.[26] This guides attention towards the conventional matrices of identity/difference already available through 'foreign policy'. The self-representation of 'America', as discussed above, was thus limited to the previous imperial encounters wherein US identity came to be predominantly negotiated against European 'others'. In his annual message to the Congress in 1904, Theodore Roosevelt elaborated that the United States does not 'hunger for land'.[27] In this context, the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed the US role in defending smaller countries from the scourge of European powers as well as to ensure that the European people living in 'barbarism' are 'freed from their chains'.[28] When United States and its European 'others' were juxtaposed against the Soviet Union, the savageness, deceit and violent nature of the Soviet 'other' lead to recreation of similarities between the US and the Europe.[29] The 'West' was therefore homogenised in racial terms as the 'East' represented by the Soviet Union was relegated to backwardness.[30]

[23]'The Acheson Lilienthal & Baruch Plans', 1946, US Department of the State.
[24] 'The Baruch Plan', Presented to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, 14 June 1946, http://www.atomicarchive.com/Docs/Deterrence/BaruchPlan.shtml (Accessed on 20/09/13).
[25] *Ibid*.
[26] Schrag, *The Self after Postmodernity*, pp. 19-20.
[27] Roosevelt as cited by Sidney Lens, *The Forging of the American Empire: From the Revolution to Vietnam: A History of US Imperialism* (London: Pluto Press, 2003), p. 3.
[28] *Ibid*., p. 4
[29] A similar evaluation is presented by Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 33.
[30] See Said, *Orientalism*.

Similar invocations of the United States' pursuance of peace were made in international speeches over the decade. The construction of 'we-ness' was undertaken through securing the US 'self' in the realm of 'goodwill' and 'responsibility'.[31] Furthermore, the Atoms for Peace proposal was described to offer, 'for apathy, action; for despair, hope; for the whirlpool of general war, a channel to the harbour of future peace'.[32] It enshrined United States' effort to promote peaceful discussion through IAEA and the expectation that the proposal would encourage man's 'sanity' and not the propensity to 'destroy' himself while man's 'fear' of atom would eventually yield to 'hope'.[33] The construction of the United States as 'peace-loving', 'responsible', 'sensible', 'sane', 'heroic', 'firm' nation, further allowed the administration officials to justify continual weapons development and testing until agreements on disarmament were reached.[34] While the Soviet Union was already depicted as an 'intransigent' nation, projecting into the future and until such time had come when the Soviet Union was serious about disarmament issues, it was argued that the US military power in the present should not be susceptible to 'whims' and that US military 'strength' should be maintained to 'guard' world peace.[35] This was especially validated when the 'other' was 'insane',

[31] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Message to the United Nations Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy at Geneva', 8 August 1955. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10334 (Accessed on 10/11/13).

[32] Read by Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission; Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President at the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency', 26 October 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10676 (Accessed on 10/11/13).

[33] *Ibid*.

[34] 'Democratic Party Platform of 1956', 13 August 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29601 (Accessed on 03/09/13). 'Republican Party Platform of 1956', 20 August 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25838 (Accessed on 04/09/13). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Address in Madison Square Garden, New York City', 25 October 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10674 (Accessed on 03/03/13). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Opening of the NATO Meetings in Paris', 16 December 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the International Press Institute', 17 April 1958. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11357 (Accessed on 09/09/13). 'Republican Party Platform of 1960', 25 July 1960. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25839 (Accessed on 09/09/13). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President Reviewing the Government's Policies and Actions With Respect to the Development and Testing of Nuclear Weapons', 24 October 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10667 (Accessed on 10/11/13).

[35] 'Operations Coordinating Board Working Draft', 4 February 1954 [C.D. Jackson Papers, Box 29, Atoms for Peace-Evolution (1)],

'hysterical', 'scornful' and a 'danger' to everlasting peace.[36] America's determination and sensibility was thus akin to the man's emotional stability and responsibility as opposed to the womanly Soviet 'other' who was susceptible to whims. Militarisation and masculinity have had a historical presence in creation of American identity as distinct from the European 'others'. As Amy Greenberg expounds, the Manifest Destiny which pronounced American 'aggressive expansionism' was gendered.[37] In order to justify the displacement of Native Americans and distinguish themselves from the Europeans, Greenberg notes, the editors and journalists wrote 'endless articles' celebrating America's military heroes in order to confirm the masculinity of 'the American republican, the Son of Liberty, the frontiersman, the empire builder'.[38] By feminising the Native Americans it was possible to engender the Anglo-Saxon white man who was an embodiment of American manhood. The 'domestication' of 'new frontiers' was thus made possible which, as opposed to the European colonisation, were essentially undertaken in pursuit of freedom and peace.[39] Similarly, the metaphors employed to represent the womanly Soviet 'other' through Atoms for Peace worked towards a creation

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http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder11.pdf (Accessed on 12/02/15). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President Reviewing the Government's Policies and Actions With Respect to the Development and Testing of Nuclear Weapons', 24 October 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10667 (Accessed on 12/02/15).

[36] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President Following the Soviet Union's Attack on the Disarmament Proposals', 28 August 1957. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10873 (Accessed on 12/02/15).

[37] Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 14. Also see, Gerhard Grytz, 'Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire (review)', *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 110, no. 4, 2007, pp. 554-555. As Greenberg notes, Manifest Destiny forced the question of what both manhood and womanhood should look like, at home, and abroad. Confrontations with Mexicans in the mid-1830s to 1840s led to an evolution of two major ideals of masculinity: "restrained manhood and martial manhood" (p. 11). The restrained men, guided by morality, reliability, and bravery, staunchly supported female domesticity and opposed aggressive expansionism. Men subscribing to this mode of manhood wanted to fulfil America's Manifest Destiny through peaceful means by spreading allegedly superior American social, cultural, and religious institutions. In contrast, martial men, the precursors of the "manly man" of the turn-of-the-century "primitive masculinity", rejected the moral standards of restrained men and supported forceful expansionism. They were in particular drawn to the expansionist agenda and discourse of the Democratic Party. These martial men were on the forefront of supporting the further forceful expansion of the United States in the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Pacific, and they dominated the defence of filibustering expeditions into these regions.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20. Also 'domestication' refers to creation of domestic sphere that has implications when understanding metropole/colony wherein the latter is traditionally associated with feminine and thus needs to 'tamed' and 'restrained'.

of radical alterity in form of American manhood and aggressive militarisation in the nuclear realm to produce the historical 'sense of self'.

The exegesis of US identity is marked with contradiction in terms of a departure from imperialism yet an effort on behalf of the postcolonial nation to accept the role of the coloniser. To forge a conception of the US self after the victory in Civil War was complicated because the 'destiny' of the self was to 'manifest' through an inherent distinctiveness from the European imperialists. According to Anders Stephanson, at this juncture, US Protestantism formed a crucial discursive foundation for debating American geopolitics.[40] Stephanson notes a tract by the Reverend Josiah Strong, *Our Country,* which appeared in 1885 was introduced as a religious version of the Manifest Destiny.[41] In this tract Strong envisioned that 'the final competition of the races' was imminent. The God had given Anglo-Saxon civilisation in general and the United States in particular a command to Christianise and civilise the world. While the westward empire had already achieved material wealth, argued Strong, 'God's final and complete solution of the dark problem of heathenism among many inferior peoples' was thus to 'dispossess the many weaker races, assimilate others, and mold the remainder'.[42] The unbridgeable break between past and present is crucial to the process by which those who are seen to live at the earlier stages of Western (American) history come to be devalued. It also means that the 'other' is anachronistic, somewhere they should not be, since the past is somewhere that we (should) have moved on from.[43] The American civilising mission through Christianity as supported by the superior Anglo-Saxon race thus operated on these very precepts of guiding the anachronistic other(s) both at home and abroad towards Christian righteousness. With an implicit referencing of such foundational texts, the Eisenhower administration's effort to craft a peaceful image of America was greatly supported by the

[40] Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), p. 79.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] *Ibid*., p. 80.
[43] Christine Helliwell and Barry Hindess, 'Time and the others', in Sanjay Seth eds., *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A critical introduction* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 70-83, see p. 74.

religious connotations illustrating the past, present and the supposed future conduct of the nation with an exclusive focus on racial superiority. The biblical references to 'salvation', 'sacrifice' and 'providence' were utilised to describe America as God's chosen people.[44] The Christian theological references cite the imagery of impending apocalypse in form of a nuclear war through which America has to guide the world towards safety as it has been granted the 'stewardship'.[45] The main antidote of 'fear' therefore was 'faith' which America had devoted itself to. As Eisenhower declared in his speech in New York, that the basic purpose of US foreign policy is to 'conform to the will of the Highest of the Rulers', and: 'The American Dream is a goal that can be achieved only… in unity among men and faith in God'.[46] The word 'faith' here is made synonymous to 'free world', 'values', 'peace' and 'justice', which are the American way. America then becomes the pivotal representation of salvation and the ultimate good. God was therefore on the side of America, as Eisenhower preached, the American faith could 'open before the world a true golden age of our civilization'.[47] The religious construction of American identity in Atoms for Peace stands in marked contrast to 'communism' framed as the other, described varyingly in these texts as a 'brutal' and an 'atheist' ideology which as a doctrine was devoid of any spiritual essence as there is 'no God' and 'no soul' or any kind of 'reward' and 'satisfaction' beyond the fulfilment of materialistic needs. Communism was therefore 'intolerant', 'materialistic', 'cruel', and 'barbarian' unlike the spiritually guided United States.[48] As Thomas E. Murray of AEC declared in 1953:

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[44] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10593 (Accessed on 03/09/13).
[45] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Address and Remarks at the Baylor University Commencement Ceremonies, Waco, Texas', 25 May 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10499 (Accessed on 03/09/13).
[46] Address at American Legion 8/30/54, PPP, 1954, 786; Address at Alfred E. Smith Dinner, New York City, 10/21/54, PPP, 1954, 937, cited in Ira Chernus, *Apocalypse Management: Eisenhower and the Discourse of National Insecurity* (California: Stanford University Press, 2008), Chapter Six.
[47] Ira Chernus, 'The President and the Bomb, 1953 – 1955', in *Apocalypse Management: Eisenhower and the Discourses of National Insecurity*.
[48] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Address and Remarks at the Baylor University Commencement Ceremonies, Waco, Texas', 25 May 1956. 'Republican Party Platform of 1956', 20 August 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25838 (Accessed on 04/09/13).

> For years, the splitting of atom, packaged in weapons has been our main shield against the Barbarians – now, in addition it is to become a God-given instrument to do the constructive work of mankind.[49]

In maintaining the politics of identity/difference the foundational periods of American experience were implicated in the practices of 'foreign policy'. At the time of continental expansion, the United States understood in terms of Manifest Destiny reproduced the logic of Puritan covenant such that the United States became for many the chosen nation, charged with redemption in the continuing struggle between the good and the evil. By the end of the nineteenth century, the identity of United States became part and parcel of the state's global reach since domestic frontier was effectively closed and imperial expansion that was considered essential to maintenance of liberty at home was extended to Asia and the Caribbean.[50] The US identity as emplotted through Foreign Policy texts of Atoms for Peace reproduced subjectivity of US as a God's chosen country only to recode the struggle between civilised 'self' and the barbarian Soviet 'other' ensuring a linkage between home and abroad through the new global nuclear order.

While the administration reinforced a particular form of 'we-ness' in terms of America standing for peace and justice, counter-narratives to the official storyline were regularly circulated that questioned the US determination to achieve international peace through Atoms for Peace. As testing and nuclear weapons development continued unabated amidst the promises of Atoms for Peace and control of nuclear technology, Japanese scientists as a part of the anti-nuclear struggle and pacifist movement on 28 February 1957 termed nuclear testing the 'worst sort of crime against all human beings'.[51] Similarly, dissatisfied with the American and British action in the field of nuclear testing, J.B. Priestley, one of Britain's best-known playwrights published

[49] Murray as quoted in U.S. News and World Report, cited in Richard Hewlett and Jack Holl, *Atoms for Peace and War, 1953–1961: (A History of the United States Atomic Energy Commission) vol. 3: Eisenhower and the Atomic Energy Commission* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 8.
[50] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 134.
[51] 'Japanese Physicists Address Their British Colleagues', 1 January 1958, FO 371/135572, Foreign Office Records, cited in Lawrence S. Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954-1970 v.2* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 42.

a critical response on 2 November 1957 in the British cultural and political magazine *New Statesman*. Here he compared weapons testing to nuclear 'madness' into which the 'spirit of Hitler seems to have passed, to poison the world'.[52] The *Russell-Einstein Manifesto* issued in London on 9 July 1955, proclaimed that agreements not to use the H-bomb in peacetime presented a 'hope' that was at best 'illusionary'. In the closing paragraphs, the scientists pointed out that it was best to forget 'quarrels' and choose 'knowledge' and 'wisdom' for the sake of humanity, which could lead to a new 'Paradise'. Unless this was achieved, there was a risk of 'universal death'.[53] On the domestic front, the most forceful criticism came from the nuclear physicist turned activist Linus Pauling. In his book *No More War!,* released in 1960, directly citing the Bible, Pauling asked: "Does the Commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' mean nothing to us?"; further adding: "Are we to interpret it as meaning 'Thou shalt not kill except on a grand scale,' or 'Thou shalt not kill except when the national leaders say to do so?"[54] These counter-narratives thus overtly questioned the American identity as a religious nation pursuing peace. While American wisdom was under a critical purview, continual weapons development and testing was termed as 'insane', 'savage' and 'brute'.[55] Contrary to official narratives, the counter-narratives sought to emphasise the feminine side of United States and the racial/civilisational backwardness. The continual development of weapons and militarisation demonstrated insensibility. It also displayed a savage and barbaric nature of the society that contradictory to the claims made was indeed stuck in backwardness. The counter-narrative also sought to disarticulate the spatial dimension to nuclear rhetoric that divided the world into neat Western and Eastern hemispheres, bifurcating the anti-communist and pro-communist forces.

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[52] J.B. Priestley, 'Britain and the nuclear Bombs', in Ronald Clark, *The Life of Bertrand Russell* (London: Jonathan Cape and Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975), pp. 556-57, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 46.
[53] 'The Russell-Einstein Manifesto', issued in London, 9 July 1955, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/papers/peace6.007.5.html (Accessed on 10/01/15).
[54] Linus Pauling, *No More War!,* http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/narrative/page29.html (Accessed on 10/01/15).
[55] Clarence Pickett, Secretary Emeritus of the American Friends of Service Committee, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 51. Linus Pauling, 'The World Problem and the Hydrogen Bomb', 15 April 1954, speech delivered at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, California, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/notes/1954s.6-ts-01.html (Accessed on 09/01/15).

The nuclear danger was indeed global in nature and could not be described with a singular logic of forces of peace as opposed to forces of danger.[56]

As noted in Chapter Two, the official narrative and counter-narratives are set in an interactive environment and that the prevalence of the dominant narrative displays the workings of power. The administration officials sought to marginalise these counter-narratives, yet again, through their own narratives. For instance, the Japanese reactions were mostly termed as, 'emotional' and 'pathologically sensitive'.[57] Regarding the pacifist movements, appearing on the 'Face the Nation' broadcast on CBS Television on 4 May 1958, AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss commented: 'At the bottom of the disturbance there is a kernel of very intelligent, deliberate propaganda'.[58] The anti-nuclear protests, in this sense, were termed as engendering weakness rather than relying on strength, or else were credibly termed as a way of maligning American reputation through a grand scheme perpetuated by the communist forces. A direct attack on the anti-nuclear movement was undertaken during a televised debate between Linus Pauling and Edward Teller in 1958, presented on KQED-TV, San Francisco. Dr. Edward Teller, a nuclear physicist officially representing the administration, proclaimed: 'Peace cannot be obtained by wishing for it'.[59] Teller then directed attention to World War II arguing that the war was brought on by a race in disarmament. The wishful thinking of peace-loving nations led to the disarmament, leading subsequently to the rise of Hitler and his tyranny. Through this re-evaluation of the past, Teller then notes that in future when a 'tyranny arms and we don't, we might not be so fortunate'.[60] As opposed to the 'illusion' then, weapons development was a

[56] As Pauling noted in his speech to First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, that the only way to solve the nuclear problem was through negotiations which meant necessarily in 'just' and 'ethical' manner. And neither Russian nor American diplomats were keen on this. In fact, America had instead adopted a 'get-tough' policy that increasingly utilised terminologies such as 'massive retaliation' against the Communists.
[57] MacArthur to Secretary of State, 4 May 1957, 711.5611/5-257, DOS Records; 'Japan Public Opinion Survey: Part I' (June 1957), pp. 19-20, Box 61, CPF, OR, USIA Records. See also, *NYT*, 19 May 1957, and *FRUS*, 1952-1954, 14: 1644-49, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 43 and p. 147.
[58] 'Face the Nation' as broadcast over the CBS Television Network, 4 May 1958, Box 806, Anderson Papers; *NYT*, 5 May 1958, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 142.
[59] 'Fallout and Disarmament', a televised debate between Linus Pauling and Edward Teller, 1958. Originally presented on KQED-TV, San Francisco. Reprinted in pamphlet form (San Francisco: Fearon Publishers, 1958), see p. 5, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/papers/1958p2.1.html (Accessed on 11/01/15).
[60] *Ibid*.

sound and practical step and unlike Hitler's 'madness', nuclear armaments and testing were a precautionary steps necessary to ensure peace.

America thus was made synonymous to world peace. Atoms for Peace opened up the opportunities to negotiate fruitful arms control while in the backdrop nuclear America was a stabilising force in international politics. A second dominant narrative in form of democratic America standing for freedom complemented this image of America as a peaceful nuclear power.

A 'democratic' country standing for 'freedom'

The Atoms for Peace campaign utilised a twin strategy of demonising the Soviet Union as the 'other': an imperial nation and hence a danger to essence of freedom. The United States, by contrast, was defined as a country standing for 'freedom' and 'equality', and therefore a nation that had the duty to guide the world and save the free nations from the clutches of 'slavery'. Additionally, the emphasis on democracy as a natural law of divinity led to an assertion that America had a responsibility to ensure safety of all the free nations of the world. In this sense, possession of nuclear weapons and modern weaponry were valued as an important capability in order to defend world-wide causes of 'equality' and 'justice'.

In order to frame democratic America as standing for freedom, Atoms for Peace discourse constructed the Soviet Union as the destructive 'other'. Terms like 'duplicity', 'reliance on division', 'enticement', 'tactics of retreat and zigzag', 'militant', 'aggressive', 'violent', 'menace', 'enslavement', 'monolithic', 'cancer', 'totalitarian', 'imperial', 'tyrannical' were recurrently used to describe the Soviet Union.[61] The Soviet Union was framed in the negative

[61] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10593 (Accessed on 03/09/13). Eisenhower, 'Address and Remarks at the Baylor University Commencement Ceremonies, Waco, Texas', 25 May 1956. 'Republican Party Platform of 1956', 20 August 1956. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Opening of the NATO Meetings in Paris', 16 December 1957. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the International Press Institute', 17 April 1958. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11357 (Accessed on 09/09/13). 'Republican Party

light as an imperial nation, naturally unable to proactively engage in arms control activities and create indispensable conditions for a lasting peace.[62] On the other hand, 'democratic' America was described as the country that stood for 'freedom' with a wish to save the world from the scourge of colonialism. Through Atoms for Peace, the United States intended to develop world-wide steps enabling countries to be self-sufficient and embark on to the path of economic development. Accordingly, the United States was narrated as 'free', 'just', built upon the pillars of 'individual liberty', and a 'promise of freedom' for all mankind, that were ingrained in a democratic society and completely absent in a communist one.[63] In this context Eisenhower declared in his 1956 State of the Union address: '…the awesome power of the atom must be made to serve as a guardian of the free community and of the peace' and not its enslavement.[64] Atoms for Peace thus became a part of the 'crusades' against colonialism that was perpetuated by Soviet Union akin to the crusades in Europe that enabled the Europe to emerge from suppression.[65] The reference to crusades guided attention towards the 'holy war' waged against the Muslim occupation of Europe also ensuring European access to the Holy Land. Crusades thus reinstated connection between Western Christendom and militarism in 1096-1290 AD.[66] David Foglesong expounds, American views about Russia were deeply guided by these deep seated religious traditions. In particular Americans exhibited a belief in a duty to spread their

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Platform of 1960', 25 July 1960. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25839 (Accessed on 09/09/13). Memorandum regarding 'Operation Candor', 22 July 1953, White House Office, National Security Council Papers, PSB Central Files Series, Box 17, PSB 091.4 U.S. (2), http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder17.pdf (Accessed on 17/09/13).

[62] Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956.

[63] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union'. 'Preliminary Proposal for an International Organisation to Further the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy', 8 June 1954, http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder8.pdf (Accessed on 09/09/13). Memorandum regarding 'Operation Candor', 22 July 1953.

[64] Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956.

[65] Memorandum from Theodore Repplier, Advertising Council, 3 August 1955, DDE's Papers as President, Administration Series, Box 30, Nelson Rockefeller 1952-55 (3), http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder1.pdf (Accessed on 09/09/13). President Eisenhower's Reaction to the Repplier Proposal, 3 August 1955, DDE's Papers as President, Administration Series, Box 30, Nelson Rockefeller 1952-55 (3), http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder2.pdf (Accessed on 09/09/13).

[66] 'Crusades', History Channel, http://www.history.com/topics/crusades (Accessed on 02/0915).

creed and in context of this belief it was ascertained that benighted foreign people yearned for enlightenment and progress. At several moments, especially in response to the Russian revolutions of 1905, March 1917, and August 1991, many Americans expressed euphoric enthusiasm about the rapid transformation of Russia into a nation resembling the United States, with democratic institutions, religious liberty, and a market economy. Consequently, divergence of Russia from the expected course led to disillusionment, demonisation, and accusations of inherent defects in the national character of the Russian 'other'.[67] The lack of progress towards the 'self' proclaimed through the Foreign Policy texts of Atoms for Peace made explicit the connections between democratic venture of America in the present and crusades in the past, both of which were civilising missions against the medieval, diabolical and cruel 'others'.

Ironically, protection of freedom and liberty also became a source of justification for the ownership of nuclear weapons by the US. It was imperative to protect the free nations of Europe and rest of the world from aggression and for these purposes adequate deterrence was required.[68] This allowed the United States to continue with arms control arrangements whilst retaining weapons for defensive purposes. For instance, in his State of the Union address on 6 January 1955, Eisenhower clearly demarcated the spatial identity of the 'democratic' United States existing within western hemisphere and nations in other parts of the world were getting 'stronger' by siding with freedom, as he notes:

> Free nations are collectively stronger than at any time in recent years. Just as nations of this Hemisphere, in the historic Caracas and Rio conferences, have closed ranks against

[67] David S. Foglesong, *The American Mission and the 'Evil' Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 2-3.
[68] 'Statement by the President Announcing Determination Making Additional Uranium 235 Available for Peaceful Uses', 3 July 1957, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10829#axzz2fpVL8m2f (Accessed on 03/09/13). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President Reviewing the Government's Policies and Actions With Respect to the Development and Testing of Nuclear Weapons', 24 October 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10667 (Accessed on 03/09/13). Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Opening of the NATO Meetings in Paris', 16 December 1957. 'Democratic Party Platform of 1960', 11 July 1960. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29602 (Accessed on 09/09/13).

> imperialistic Communism and strengthened their economic ties, so free nations elsewhere have forged new bonds of unity.[69]

Once this spatial dimension of the 'West' and 'free' nations progressing towards this ideal community is clear, in the middle of the speech, Eisenhower recommended the need for sufficient defence to deter the 'communist aggression' as he declared:

> To protect our nations and our peoples from the catastrophe of a nuclear holocaust, free nations must maintain countervailing military power to persuade the Communists of the futility of seeking their ends through aggression. If Communist rulers understand that America's response to aggression will be swift and decisive--that never shall we buy peace at the expense of honor or faith--they will be powerfully deterred from launching a military venture engulfing their own peoples and many others in disaster.[70]

America's role as a democratic nation was considered to be essential in the world where Communist menace was alive and well. As Eisenhower noted in the final part of the speech:

> We must not only deter aggression; we must also frustrate the effort of Communists to gain their goals by subversion. To this end, free nations must maintain and reinforce their cohesion, their internal security, their political and economic vitality, and their faith in freedom. In such a world, America's course is dear. We must tirelessly labor to make the peace more just and durable.[71]

That American course was 'dear' and the American leadership of free nations was non-debatable, was also justified on the basis of 'freedom' and democratic 'equality' as a natural law created and bestowed onto the people of the world by the 'Creator', and that America was a pivotal representation of this imagery. For instance, in his Radio and Television Address to America on 5 April 1954, in the opening paragraphs Eisenhower proclaimed:

> Our Nation had a spiritual foundation, so announced by the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence. You remember what they said? "We hold that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain rights." That is very definitely a spiritual conception. It is the explanation of our form of government that our Founding Fathers decided upon.[72]

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[69] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 6 January 1955. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10416. (Accessed on 05/09/13).
[70] *Ibid*.
[71] *Ibid*.
[72] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Radio and Television Address to the American People on the State of the Nation', 5 April 1954. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=10201&st=&st1= (Accessed on 21/09/13).

An emphasis on America as born out of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, which contained 'God-given' virtues, made it easier for Eisenhower to define democratic principles to be free by their very nature. Hence, it was seen as impossible that any nation could adopt 'communism' freely for it was unnatural, predatory and contradictory to God's own designs. Most communists could be defined as a very small minority practicing 'violence' who could only take a control of the country by force.[73] On the other hand, America represented a world that was 'decent' and 'just'. This had resulted in institutions such as the United Nations (UN), and NATO in Europe that were manifestations of these core values. The emplotment of 'self' through Foreign Policy texts of Atoms for Peace echoed Manifest Destiny of the 'democratic empire' that was 'destined to create', and 'destined to carry world-wide the principles of Anglo-Saxon peace and justice, liberty and law'.[74] Similar invocations were made at the turn of the century when supporting the imperialist upsurge Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana declared; 'ours is the blood of government; ours the heart of dominion; ours the brain and genius of administration'.[75] In terms of race, the signifier 'democracy' thus created clear demarcations as the self which was 'decent', 'just', 'free', 'God-given force', believer in 'individual liberty', stood in opposition to the other which was 'violent', 'menace', 'aggressor' and 'imperial'. The new global nuclear order instituted through Atoms for Peace resonated with liberal order that helped to delimit the identity of 'self'.[76] Thus the great power 'self' was only made possible because the USSR filled in the imagery connected with radical otherness.

Moreover, a significant discourse also constructed America as 'guardian', 'mature', 'wisdom' 'experienced', 'courageous leadership', 'patience', 'sacrifice' and 'responsibility'.[77] This kind

[73] *Ibid*.
[74] As cited in Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 90.
[75] Cited in Stephen Rosskamm Shalom, *Imperial Alibis: Rationalizing U.S. Intervention after the Cold War* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1993), p. 13.
[76] Alister Miskimmon et.al, *Strategic Narrative*, p. 66.
[77] 'Republican Party Platform of 1960', 25 July 1960. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 12 January 1961. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=12074 (Accessed on 03/09/13). 'Address by

of construction falls within the realm of creating a parental responsibility of fatherhood, which basically plays the role of 'guiding' and 'nurturing' the child in the right direction. Such attributes focused on the 'responsible' attribute of the United States that not only justified possession of weapons but also fed into the larger narrative of attaining peace and freedom. Yet again, the narrative of responsibility drew from previous such attempts, for instance, the Baruch Plan.[78] The narrative established the paternal responsibility of US to guide the development of 'free nations' that are at the stage of infancy. These constructions were largely framed around masculinised attributes and therefore were based upon fatherhood. Throughout Eisenhower's tenure, 'democratic' America as a country was often addressed in terms of, 'home' and 'community', 'the abiding creed of our fathers' and 'the faith of our fathers and the lives of our sons'.[79] The patriarchal responsibility of the father in supervising the growth of the child was easily merged into the discourse of US global responsibility. 'Responsibility', as the central signifier in these configurations, sets America apart from other nations with a natural authority to guide the future of 'free' nations.[80]

Not surprisingly, the Atoms for Peace discourse also sets US masculinised qualities apart from and in opposition to the Soviet Union's feminine portrayal as the 'other'. As the President noted in 1954 in an address to the nation:

> Sometimes you feel, almost, that we can be excused for getting a little bit hysterical because these dangers come from so many angles, and they are of such different kinds. But the H-bomb—the H-bomb and the Atomic Age—they are not in themselves a great threat to us. They were dangerous only because of the potential insanity of Soviet leaders. We do not have to be hysterical. We can be vigilant. We can be Americans.[81]

President Dwight Eisenhower to the UN General Assembly', 20 June 1955, http://www.state.gov/p/io/potusunga/207329.htm (Accessed on 09/09/13).

[78] The Baruch Plan, Presented to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, 14 June 1946.

[79] For similar evaluations also see, Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy Brotherhood* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001). Jason Edward Black, 'Authoritarian Fatherhood: Andrew Jackson's Early Familial Lectures to America's 'Red Children", *Journal of Family History*, July 2005, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 247-264. Roberta Chevrette, and Lisa C. Braveman, 'Brothers, Fathers, Terrorists: Masculine Assemblages in Glen Beck's Rhetoric of US-Israel Unity Post -9/11', *Feminist Formations*, vol. 25, no. 2, 2013, pp. 81-106.

[80] See the section, 'The Discharge of our World Responsibility' in Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956.

[81] Eisenhower, 'Radio and Television Address to the American People', 5 April 1954.

The Soviet Union was thus infused with the alleged womanly qualities of 'hysteria', 'temptation', and predilection towards 'insanity', making it inherently inferior to America and by that virtue an irresponsible country lacking the qualities to successfully steer the world in the direction of disarmament and towards ultimate freedom.

The counter-narrative at international and national level sought to disarticulate the links between 'democracy' and 'freedom', thus constructing America as an imperial nation rather than a democratic nation standing for freedom. Partly as a response to an anti-nuclear agitation within Russia and within larger scheme to differentiate Soviet Union from America, Soviet leaders routinely related Communism with the destruction of 'bourgeoisie' and not 'world civilisation'.[82] The bourgeoisie or Western capitalism was identified as an imperial design from which 'communism' made and designed by the proletariats could ensure freedom. In other instances, Soviet newspapers like *Red Star* told readers in 1957 that Soviet 'vigilance' and 'preparedness' were important in order to defend socialist countries against the 'attacks of imperialism'.[83] Similar stories about the Soviet Union standing against Western imperialism were circulated in 1954 and 1955 in the other major Soviet newspaper *Pravda*. Here an editorial proclaimed: 'On the one hand, countries of North Atlantic bloc, headed by the U.S.A., are intensifying the arms race'. It was further added: 'On the other hand, democratic countries, headed by the U.S.S.R … are waging a constant fight to ban all weapons of mass destruction', suggesting that the Warsaw Pact nations were consistent advocates of banning weapons.[84] Whether democracy meant an absolute freedom in America was also challenged at the national level. In his sharp remarks to the House Un-American Activities Committee, Linus Pauling

[82] L.A. Openkin, 'Na istoricheskom perepute', Voprosy istorii KPSS I (1990), p. 116, cited in Yuri Smirnov, and Vladislav Zubok, 'Nuclear Weapons after Stalin's Death: Moscow Enters the H-Bomb Age', *Cold War History Project Bulletin*, no. 4, 1994, pp. 14-18, in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 102.
[83] Smirnov and Zubok, 'Nuclear Weapons after Stalin's Death', p. 15, Krasnaya zvezda [Red Star], 22 March 1957, in *CDSP* 9 (5 June 1957): p. 27, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 104.
[84] *Pravda*, 29 June 1954, in *CDSP* 6 (11 August 1954): 17; *Pravda*, 12 May 1955, in *CDSP* 7 (22 June 1955): 14, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 107.

noted that America was built on the concept of free speech, so it was his 'duty to speak freely'. Reminding the investigatory committee of the 'principles' upon which a true democratic system operates, Pauling further proclaimed:

> …no single man is wise enough to make the correct decisions about the very complex problems that arise, and that the correct decisions are to be made by the process of averaging the opinions of all the citizens in the democracy.[85]

The Eisenhower administration's intolerance of counter-views was thus termed by Pauling as a 'disservice' to democracy and democratic wisdom.[86] Yet again, Pauling's narrative synthesised the similarities between the political machineries of both America and the Soviet Union as far as nuclear matters were concerned. The counter-narrative demonstrated that the signifier 'democracy' and 'communism' can be 'multi-referential': this is because language by its very nature is not fixed in a one-to-one relation to its referent. It can construct different meanings around what is apparently the same social relation or phenomenon.[87] As Weldes summaries, the multi-referential quality of the language is the reason that articulations must continuously be reproduced and that linguistic elements can be disarticulated and then rearticulated in different ways so that objects, events, actions, and social relations 'can be differently represented and construed'.[88]

Official narratives termed such digression yet again as an anti-US propaganda perpetuated by the Communists. On 17 April 1956, in his diplomatic trip to the Vatican, Lewis Strauss termed the opposition to America's nuclear programme as a ploy by the Soviet Union to weaken the 'free' world by clever propaganda.[89] In other instances, the questions on United States' intention and its democratic values were termed as 'extreme left-wing', bearing little

[85] 'Linus Pauling on 'democracy' and freedom of speech', http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/narrative/page20.html (Accessed on 10/01/15).
[86] 'Pauling Raps Teller on Statement', San Francisco News, 20 February 1958, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/newsclips/1958n.7.html (Accessed on 10/01/15).
[87] Stuart Hall, 'The Problem of Ideology – Marxism Without Guarantees', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 45-60, p. 36, cited in Weldes, 'Constructing National Interests', p. 286.
[88] *Ibid*.
[89] Strauss to Pius XII, 17 April, 6 August 1956, Box 83, AEC Series, Strauss Papers, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 131.

'earnestness', a reliance on 'half best-truths', which was misleading and dangerous and could bring 'disaster' to the free world.[90] Targeting Pauling's devotion to democratic America, *Time* magazine, for instance, ran photos of Pauling, along with other anti-bomb activists, over the caption: 'Defenders of unborn… or dupes of enemies of liberty?'.[91] In the televised debate 'Fallout and Disarmament', Dr. Edward Teller re-affirmed America's devotion to free nations of the world in the context of which nuclear weaponry was of special importance, as he noted:

> This is why I fear that disarmament and cessation of nuclear tests are not on the right road, and I am particularly worried about it, because we are playing for big mistakes. We are playing for freedom, for our own freedom, for the freedom of our friends and allies. The world has become small and everybody's freedom is sacred. Anyone who is willing to defend his own freedom should get our support in defending that freedom.[92]

The democratic narrative wherein America stood for peace, justice and freedom was highly contentious both nationally and internationally. Nevertheless, official narratives successfully crafted an imagery of democratic America that was absolutely essential as a stabilising force in the world where nuclear weapons had become a reality. The dominant narratives displayed the workings of power as the Eisenhower administration was able to selectively appropriate the national identity through a past that was democratic, through which the present, and the future of US as a country whose nuclear capability was conducive to world peace and freedom came to be validated. National identity, as Said identifies, thus comprises of 'images we construct of a privileged, genealogically useful past, a past in which we exclude unwanted, elements, vestiges, narratives'.[93] The narrative of scientific contributions in the field of nuclear science charted a domain where a peaceful and democratic America could play a fruitful role in the science of the atom devoted to 'construction' and not 'destruction'.

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[90] Lewis Strauss to Meade Alcorn, 3 September 1957, Box 26G, John L. McGruder, 'Memorandum for the Telephone File', 8 May 1958, Box 80, AEC Series, Strauss Papers. Edward Teller and Allen Brown, 'The Compelling Need for Nuclear Tests', *Life* 44, 10 February 1958, pp. 64-66, pp. 69-72, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 139.
[91] *Pugwash*, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/narrative/page30.html (Accessed on 01/01/15).
[92] 'Fallout and Disarmament', a televised debate between Linus Pauling and Edward Teller, 1958, p. 5.
[93] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 16.

Advancing the 'science' of the atom for world 'betterment'

The 'science' of the atom and the scientific 'capability' of America became central signifiers in the administration's narratives about past, present and future. A significant portion of the Atoms for Peace speeches thus concentrated on the 'boon' of atomic technology and how it could brighten the future of all free nations. To demonstrate that nuclear science could be used for both good and bad, wherein America was devoted to good, regular inferences were made to the greatest discoveries of humankind, and how each discovery was utilised by man for his own purposes. In order to craft a nuclear subjectivity, the Eisenhower administration made repetitive use of these narrations in order to invalidate counter-narratives and their propensity to reframe the American nuclear identity in the scientific domain as devoted to destruction and not to construction or peace per se.

The importance of science of the atom and its utilisation in everyday civilian domain, was made apparent when Eisenhower in his closing words of the historic Atoms for Peace speech in Geneva, noted that the United States was determined to solve the fearful atomic dilemma and find a way by which the 'inventiveness' of man is consecrated to his 'life' and not 'death'. Departing from the past notion of the atomic bomb that was solely accredited to 'desolation' and 'destruction' as armaments of war, the speech set the stage for positive uses of atomic energy that could no longer be associated with destructiveness. Proclamations about science, which can be used for the 'betterment' of mankind were regularly made from here on.[94] The science of atoms was considered to be a 'new' science whose mastery had benefited America and had the potential to benefit other nations as well.[95] In a Special Message to the Congress Recommending Amendments to the Atomic Energy Act on 17 February 1954, and in his

[94] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'The President's News Conference', 18 May 1955. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10233 (Accessed on 09/09/13).
[95] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'The President's News Conference', 27 July 1955. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10317 (Accessed on 09/09/13).

address during the opening ceremony of Shippingport Atomic Power Plant in the same year on 6 September 1954, Eisenhower accredited the attainment of this new technology to the 'enterprise', and 'competitive spirit' of individual and groups within 'free' economy, and a proof of what 'free people can achieve'.[96] The linking of 'freedom' with new atomic science, worked on two levels. First, it differentiated the American 'self' from the Russian 'other', in the sense, that the latter did not produce hospitable conditions for productive science. Operation Candor originally postulated this strategy of invoking comparisons between the technical capabilities of the US and the USSR and that western technical and industrial superiority could not be matched.[97] Secondly, emphasis on 'freedom' and 'new' science also enabled the administration to make a subsequent case for assisting free countries of the world to develop, flourish and embark on to path of peace and progress. Historically, 'science' and 'economy' have not been mutually exclusive. Western science in the European and the American societies has been traditionally associated with the notions of 'progress' of the society. This refers to the western conceptualisation that natural progress of the society occurs through various stages, beginning with hunting/gathering societies, moving on to animal husbandry/agriculture, and finally, commerce. Capitalist societies, by this logic, are the most developed societies and 'other' parts of the world would reach this stage inevitably through the stages of development.[98] The emplotment of the US 'self' as scientifically advanced western capitalist economy through Foreign Policy texts of Atoms for Peace reiterated this logic of Western socio-scientific and

[96] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Radio and Television Remarks on the Occasion of the Ground-Breaking Ceremony for the Shippingport Atomic Power Plant', 6 September 1954. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10053 (Accessed on 24/02/14). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Special Messages to the Congress Recommending Amendments to the Atomic Energy Act', 17 February 1954, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=10163&st=&st1= (Accessed on 24/02/14).

[97] 'Memorandum from Charles Norberg to HS Craig regarding 'Project Candor and the Soviet H Bomb'', 10 August 1953, White House Office, National Security Council Staff Papers, PSB Central Files Series, Box 17, PSB 091.4 U.S. (2), http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder16.pdf (Accessed on 02/02/15).

[98] John P. Jackson Jr. and Nadine M. Weidman, *Race, Racism, and Science: Social Impact and Interaction* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2004), p. 22.

economic ascendency. This unity of experience in form of 'we-ness' was only made possible by a procurement of projective-retrospective grasp.[99]

In emphasising atomic science as a knowledge that was 'to create, and not to destroy', the administration's narrative also centred upon what could be achieved through this new science.[100] The positive nature of nuclear science was brought to the fore by seeing it as a 'boon' rather than a curse that can assist in 'medical research', 'agriculture', 'irrigation of arid land', and 'plenty' of cheap power to 'light the darkness in countless homes'.[101] The growth of atomic energy was again accredited to economic growth both at 'home and abroad'.[102] The dividing line between America and the 'free world' was again blurred as American scientific development meant world scientific development and vice versa. Amalgamation and development of nuclear science through institutions like IAEA was cited as a once in a life-time opportunity that could enable other countries to develop and control atomic energy and ultimately achieve success like America. In spatial terms, the narrative of science of the atoms also utilised the dichotomy of 'East' and 'West' and the necessity to make the nations inhabiting both spheres stakeholders in tensions between the US and USSR. During the Bermuda meeting on 5 December 1953, just before the Atoms for Peace speech, Eisenhower

[99] Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History*, p. 147.
[100] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Remarks at Ceremony Following Ratification of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency', 29 July 1957. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10850 (Accessed on 02/02/15).
[101] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Message to the National Industrial Conference Board on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy', 27 October 1955. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10375 (Accessed on 02/02/15). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Address at a Rally in the Civic Auditorium, Seattle, Washington', 17 October 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10651 (Accessed on 03/09/13). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Remarks on Presentation of the Medal of Freedom to Lewis L. Strauss, and Accompanying Citation', 14 July 1958. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11125 (Accessed on 03/09/13). Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President at the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency', 26 October 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10676 (Accessed on 10/10/14).
[102] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President Announcing Additional Steps To Accelerate the Development of Nuclear Power Abroad', 18 November 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10703 (Accessed on 10/10/14).

reiterated this point to his audience in particular the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and France.[103]

Temporal connections were also made between 'the atom' and the past 'great discoveries' that have changed the fate of mankind. These temporal connections enabled the administration to undertake a comparison between successive discoveries of science and whether these could be utilised for 'good' or for 'evil'. The construction of America in these narratives as siding with the positive 'new' science of atom automatically situated America in the realm of 'good' rather than 'evil'. In his Remarks at the Dedication Ceremonies of the Atomic Energy Commission Headquarters Building on 8 November 1957, Eisenhower made an explicit connection between past and present discoveries. In his opening lines he noted:

> As we contemplate the great scientific achievement of turning the atom and its mysteries to the use of man, we are tempted to turn our memories back toward the dawn of history and think of some of the other occasions when men have succeeded in penetrating nature's secrets, using her laws for their own purposes.[104]

The reference to the past allowed the President to cite specific examples of scientific discoveries that have been utilised for 'wicked' or 'good' purposes. In the very next paragraph, 'fire' was cited as a one of the greatest discoveries. The President noted it was difficult to 'imagine a world without fire', yet 'fire was also used in bombs in war'. Another example cited was the field of chemistry, where the President observed, that the field 'brought us curing drugs, sulfa drugs, the wonder drugs – Salk vaccine', and: 'It has also brought to us the most deadly poisons'. The President then proceeded to note the current discovery of atomic science had similar possibilities as with past discoveries. Either it could be used for 'self-destruction' or 'new possibilities for good'. That America was on the side of good was justified on the basis

[103] 'Memorandum of Conversation regarding Bermuda Meeting', 4 December 1953 [DDE's Papers as President, International Meetings Series, Box 1, Bermuda-State Dept Report-Top Secret], http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder4.pdf (Accessed on 11/12/14).

[104] See, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Dedication Ceremonies of the Atomic Energy Commission Headquarters Building', 8 November 1957. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10947 (Accessed on 11/12/14).

that the 'United States craves no other territory', 'no additional power in the world', or 'domination over any other people'. The implicit representation here again refers to the imperial Russian 'other' that could make use of science for evil and wicked purposes. The American conviction that nuclear energy could be utilised for 'greater contentment' and 'greater peace', leads to a closure of the speech through reconciliation of past, present and future in which the American scientific role was pivotal.[105] Racial configurations of 'good' as opposed to 'evil' within temporal dimensions of ages of science, framed American civilisation as productive and progressive. In framing of America as the 'great nation' through Manifest Destiny, the concept of race was all-pervasive and underpinned by the expansion of scientific (and pseudoscientific) discourse. As Stephanson notes, on the whole it was an essentialist category used to describe the inherent traits of a given group, especially 'Anglo-Saxons', from whom most good things were thought to emanate.[106] As Representative Charles F. Cochran of Missouri extolled in 1898, it was 'the race which sooner or later will place the imprint of the genius and the stamp of its conscience upon civilizations everywhere'.[107] The creation of US 'self' as scientifically advanced country devoted to good use of atomic science was only achieved through 'the insertion of history' into Foreign Policy texts of Atoms for Peace.[108] The inherent historicity of Atoms for Peace delimited the racial identity of US enabling the Eisenhower administration to reformulate an identity of a great power that would revolutionise international nuclear science.

It is also crucial to note that the narrative of science of the atoms, like the previous narratives of peace and democratic freedom, tried to reason the need for continual testing. On the whole, man's 'genius', 'wisdom', and 'inventiveness' were constantly referred to in terms of gender

[105] Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Dedication Ceremonies of the Atomic Energy Commission Headquarters Building', 8 November 1957.
[106] Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 89.
[107] Cited in Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 89.
[108] Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, p. 102.

in order to emplot American pursuit of science as stable and unemotional.[109] Apart from that, atomic weapons testing was defined as important and was postulated to be unthreatening or non-hazardous to human health. In order to justify this assertion, the central signifier of 'responsible' scientific judgement was utilised. As Eisenhower noted in his statement with respect to Government's development and testing of nuclear weapons, on 24 October 1956, that 'continuance of the present rate of H-bomb testing by the most sober and responsible scientific judgement – does not imperil the health of humanity'.[110] In support of this statement, the President presented the scientific proof of a study by 150 scientists, which confirmed that radiation exposure from all weapons tests was minimal.[111] The parenthetical narrative of patriarchal responsibility was thus merged with the scientific capability of the United States that was also sensible in its operation and exclusively aimed at harnessing the growth of nuclear science into new and fruitful directions.

Counter-narratives aimed at undoing the official hegemony of nuclear science, also attained significance during this period. Ending nuclear testing had a particular appeal among the Democrats. Continuing to press the issue, Adlai Stevenson restated the case for halting H-Bomb testing in *Look* magazine article in February 1957.[112] Similarly, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, chaired by Democratic Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, announced in March 1957 that it would hold the hearing 'to educate the Committee and the public' about the hazards of radioactive fallout.[113] The discontentment was also evident amongst some Republicans. For instance, the Republican Senator from Oregon, Wayne Morse introduced a congressional resolution calling for immediate cessation of nuclear weapons testing, as testing

[109] *Ibid*. Also see, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President at the Conference on the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency', 26 October 1956.
[110] Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President Reviewing the Government's Policies and Actions With Respect to the Development and Testing of Nuclear Weapons', 24 October 1956.
[111] *Ibid*.
[112] Adlai Stevenson, 'Why I Raised the H-Bomb Question', in Kenneth Davis, *The Politics of Honor: A Biography of Adlai E Stevenson* (New York: G.P Putnam's Sons, 1967), pp. 389-391, cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 58.
[113] *Ibid*.

entailed ‘radiation hazards’ and cessation of testing was ‘first and essential step toward disarmament and peace’.[114] In other counter-narratives, the signifier ‘responsibility’ was woven with duty of scientists to adhere to ‘reason’, and scientists’ search for ‘truth’.[115] Unlike the official narrative, Linus Pauling framed the narrative of past great discovers explicitly in the context of atomic science as the greatest of all discoveries, but concentrated more on the destructive side of weapons that was enough to destroy the whole world.[116] In contradiction to the official reports of minimal radiation hazards, Linus Pauling presented his estimates in a speech at Washington University on 15 May 1957, proclaiming ‘every bit of radiation is dangerous’.[117] Contrary to the continuation of weaponisation along with atomic energy, the Hiroshima Appeal by focusing on ‘sanity and reason’ evaluated that atomic energy made sense only in the context of total elimination of weapons.[118] Yet again, the unsound and emotional basis of the US nuclear policy was brought to the fore, through a disarticulation of linguistic elements and re-articulation in gender terms that permeated America with feminine qualities as opposed to masculine traits. This was in direct contradiction to the masculine assertion of America as forwarded by the administration officials. Counter-narratives involve a mapping of the dominant narrative, a reading and exposing of its underlying assumptions.[119] By focusing on power it becomes possible to appreciate how new forms of subjectivity can be constituted through narratives that attempt to rearrange subject-positions in time (now) and space (here).

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[114] Morse to Gertrude Faust, 13 March 1958, Box 20, Committee for Environmental Information Records; *NYT*, 18 May 1958, cited in Wittner, p. 58

[115] Linus Pauling, ‘Discoveries both Great and Terrible’, (2:17), http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/video/1958v.3-greatandterrible.html (Accessed on 10/01/15). Also see, Linus Pauling and the International Peace Movement, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/narrative/page1.html (Accessed on 10/01/15).

[116] *Ibid*.

[117] ‘Science and the Modern World’, 15 May 1957, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. ‘Life Expectancy Changes from Radiation Exposure’. (1:59), http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/audio/1957v.6-lifeexpectancy.html (Accessed on 10/01/15). Linus Pauling, ‘A New Hazard to Mankind from Radiation Fallout’. (1.20), http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/audio/1957v.6-newhazard.html (Accessed 10/01/15).

[118] ‘The Hiroshima Appeal’, 6 August 1959. Unanimously approved at the Fifth World Conference Against A and H Bombs, Hiroshima, Japan, http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/peace/papers/peace6.004.3-01.html (Accessed on 10/01/15).

[119] Helen Tiffin, ‘Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse’, in Bill Ashcroft, et al., eds., *The post-colonial studies reader*, pp. 95-98, see p. 98.

Determined to undo the counter-narratives that could sway public opinion, US officials sought to reassert the discursive hegemony with plethora of distorted information. The AEC asserted that the danger from the US nuclear tests was 'no worse than having a tooth x-rayed'.[120] In an article put together with the AEC, one popular magazine noted that 'some experts believe that mutations usually work out in the end to improve species'.[121] 'Fallout is nothing more than particles of matter in the air', noted a 1955 civil defence pamphlet.[122] In a more popular vein, AEC Commissioner Willard Libby addressed the alumni at the University of Chicago on 'Radioactive Fallout' in January 1955, and proclaimed that as of 1 January 1955 the total dosage over the United States from tests was about 0.0001 roentgens per year. The tests, he concluded, 'therefore, do not constitute any real hazard to the immediate health'.[123] In the TV debate with Linus Pauling, Edward Teller sought to create a new image of nuclear explosives by terming them as 'clean' weapons. This enabled Teller to reassert that like positives of nuclear energy, nuclear explosives that were 'non-radioactive' in nature could be used for peaceful purposes, 'for digging canals, for extracting the riches of earth and helping many people to have a better life'.[124]

Despite the negotiations of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) between 1958 and 1963, the dominant narratives of atomic energy largely remained intact enabling the US administrations to continue with the nuclear policies of weaponisation and energy assistance abroad. The linguistic articulations framed 'West' and 'America' as being devoted to 'construction' and not 'destruction' as 'responsible' scientific judgement was the panacea.[125] In a similar vein, atomic

[120] Cited in Wittner, *The Struggle Against the Bomb: Resisting the Bomb*, p. 153.
[121] *Ibid*.
[122] *Ibid*.
[123] Cited in Hewlett and Holl, *Atoms for Peace and War*, p. 294.
[124] 'Fallout and Disarmament', a televised debate between Linus Pauling and Edward Teller.
[125] William Burr and Hector L. Montford eds., 'The Making of the Limited Test Bab Treaty, 1958-1963', 8 August 2003, National Security Archive, http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB94/ (Accessed on 02/01/15). By late July 1963, American, British, and Soviet negotiators had reached agreement on the text of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which the British, Soviet, and U.S. governments signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963. Banning testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and in space, the treaty left open only the possibility of underground testing, a more expensive procedure. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President Reviewing the Government's Policies and Actions With Respect to the Development and Testing of Nuclear Weapons', 24 October 1956.

energy to help the economies of 'underdeveloped' nations of the world supplemented and supported the narratives of positive atomic science.

Ensuring 'economic progress' of the world

The construction of identity on the basis of 'political economy' in statist terms usually develops around the notion of 'developed' as opposed to 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' countries. In the context of Atoms for Peace, the narrative of helping other nations to benefit from the fruits of the atom, established the US as a 'developed' country that wished to replicate these economic advantages in other 'underdeveloped' countries as well.[126] The narratives of economic assistance concentrated on helping the nations of the 'free' world. Subsequently, the IAEA was constructed as an important international body that could aid the development of underdeveloped countries.

In his recommendations to the Congress for amending the Atomic Energy Act on 17 February 1954, Eisenhower cited the need to 'strengthen' the defence and economy of the United States and of the 'free world'.[127] The narrative thus established an explicit link between free world economy and the United States wherein the development of the former was extremely important for the latter's ability to chart world-wide economic development and peace. Furthermore, geographical/spatial distinctions between the 'West' and 'East' and the 'North' and 'South' were reinforced, as America promised to promote peace in the Near East through a continuation of cooperation in trade and other measures which were designed to assist economic progress in the area. Additionally, the fruits of atomic energy were expected to help alleviate the conditions of 'poverty' and 'unrest' in 'less developed' countries.[128] Certain

[126] Stephen Rosskamm Shalom, *The United States and the Philippines: A Study of Neo-colonialism* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1981). Sankaran Krishna, *Globalization and Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the Twenty-First Century* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009). Jane Pollard, *Postcolonial Economies* (London: Zed Books Limited, 2011). Ilan Kapoor, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development* (London: Routledge, 2008).
[127] Eisenhower, 'Special Messages to the Congress Recommending Amendments to the Atomic Energy Act', 17 February 1954.
[128] Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956. Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Opening of the NATO Meetings in Paris', 16 December 1957.

discursive constructions portrayed the world as experiencing 'hunger for knowledge' and a need for adequate institutions of modern techniques and sciences in areas of the world that can bring 'peace', 'wealth', 'prosperity' and redemption from 'desolation' and 'hopelessness'.[129] Economic strength was thus considered to be the main 'bulwark' that would enable the underdeveloped nations of the world to gain opportunity for independence, greater freedom and self-determination.[130] Ultimately, atomic energy was to promote 'human welfare' culminating into a 'progress' and 'vitality' of the free world.[131] In a letter to the *Washington Post*, Charles Douglas Jackson, Special Assistant to President Eisenhower expounded these views as he noted:

> Personally, I think this will be a 'sleeper' as far as this country is concerned – but one of these days when the deserts do bloom, and atomic reactors are turning out electricity where there was no fuel before, and when millions of people are eating who never really ate before, etc., etc., the President's December 1953 speech and proposal will be remembered as the starting point of it all.[132]

Creation of difference in terms of terming the self as 'developed' and the 'other(s)' as 'underdeveloped' also enabled the administration to promote technical and economic assistance to nations so that free market capitalism could take root thereby allowing less developed nations of the world to experience prosperity like the United States. As underdeveloped countries lacked 'technical staff' and 'funds', American technical ingenuity and dollars were to play a major role in the implementation of the Atoms for Peace programme.[133] In various addresses to the America and the world, the administration thus

[129] Eisenhower, 'Address and Remarks at the Baylor University Commencement Ceremonies, Waco, Texas', 25 May 1956. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Address at the Cow Palace on Accepting the Nomination of the Republican National Convention', 23 August 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10583 (Accessed on 09/09/13).
[130] 'Republican Party Platform of 1956', 20 August 1956.
[131] Eisenhower, 'Address at the Cow Palace on Accepting the Nomination of the Republican National Convention', 23 August 1956. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956.
[132] 'Letter, C.D. Jackson to Merlo Pusey', Washington Post, 5 February 1955, C.D. Jackson Papers, Box 29, Atoms for Peace-Evolution (1), http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/atoms_for_peace/Binder10.pdf (Accessed on 09/09/13).
[133] Progress Report on Nuclear Energy Projects and Related Information Programs, White House Office of the National Security Council Staff: Papers, 1948-61, OCB Central Files, Box 9, OCB 000.9 (File #3) (3). DDE

sought to mobilise terms such as 'economically competitive nuclear power will become a reality', 'maximum participation of American industry needed' to replicate American standard of living in other nations, and atomic energy contributing towards world peace through 'world-wide supplanting of want with plenty'.[134]

Moreover, for the administration, the IAEA became a sole means by which 'other' nations could prosper economically. Various narratives focused on the importance of the IAEA that could offer 'underdeveloped' nations of the world benefits, which naturally flow from the constructive uses of the atom. World peace in this way was tied to the economic stability whereby atomic energy played a pivotal role in the advancement of less developed nations' 'welfare'.[135] In portraying a future where the IAEA was pivotal, Lewis L. Strauss, the Chairman of the United States delegation to the IAEA mentioned in October 1957:

> The Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which you are about to implement, represents the will and the aspirations of more nations than ever before subscribed to an international treaty. Yours, therefore, is a sacred trust. You hold in your custody the conscience of the peoples of the world. They look hopefully to you to further the practical program whereby the fissioned atom will cease to be a symbol of fear and will be transformed into the means of providing them with richer, healthier and happier lives. For the past several years the people of the United States have earnestly dedicated their hearts and minds to the success of this undertaking. Speaking in their behalf, let me on this occasion earnestly reaffirm that consecration of our efforts. It is our fervent hope that the Agency will become the focal point for promoting and distributing the beneficence of atomic energy to every nation of the world, large and small.[136]

In the above paragraph, past efforts of America in bringing about economic progress and world peace are cited, while the IAEA was referred to as the realisation of this effort, which has the potential to bring about prosperity in the near future. America's struggle for peace and

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Library, cited in Martin J. Medhurst, 'Atoms for Peace and Nuclear Hegemony: The Rhetorical Structure of a Cold War Campaign', *Armed Forces & Society*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1997, pp. 571-593, see p. 589.

[134] Eisenhower, 'Message to the National Industrial Conference Board on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy', 27 October 1955.

[135] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Special Message to the Congress Requesting Ratification of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency', 22 March 1957. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=11001 (Accessed on 03/02/15).

[136] Lewis L. Strauss, 'Message to the First Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency', 1 October 1957. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10917 (Accessed on 09/09/13).

economic prosperity were thus framed as a continual struggle in temporal terms of the past, present, and future. Martin Medhurst observes, this rhetoric was specifically crafted to place Russia on the spot in front of world-wide audience. Even if, America was insincere, it placed the USSR in a position of either accepting the offer and thereby implicitly testifying to America's long-professed desire for peace, or alternatively, rejecting the offer and thereby appearing to the world at large as an aggressor unwilling to explore a plan that, as represented by Eisenhower, would directly benefit the underdeveloped nations whilst promoting international peace.[137]

The rhetoric that focused on spreading the prosperity of the 'third world' through replication of US economic success has been prevalent since the culmination of the Spanish-American War in 1898. With Spain's defeat, US imperialism annexed Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. This colonial venture was brief however, as internal domestic opposition and resistance of Philippians persisted. Nevertheless, an indirect control was maintained by establishing civil governments in these colonies. The control was justified in the guise of aiding and assisting them, alternatively termed in Jacksonian phrase as the 'extension of ordered liberty' into 'one of the dark places of the earth'.[138] As Doty notes, Philippines was especially important in this context because after independence the Philippines became a symbol of US benevolence and an important source of US international identity. Philippine independence in 1946 was a proof that the United States was only on a 'civilizing mission' wherein commerce was the precise measure of civilisation. The production of a world in which the US way of life (liberal, open, democratic order) could flourish also became essential to the production of US itself.[139] 'Third world' insurgencies such as the Huk rebellion provided an alternative social purpose and thereby politicised the purpose itself. US' self-evident role in the free world

[137] Medhurst, 'Eisenhower's 'atoms for peace' speech: A case study in the strategic use of language', *Communication Monographs*, pp. 207-208.
[138] Daniel B. Schirmer, 'The Conception and Gestation of a Neocolony', in Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Rossakamm Shalom eds., *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1987), pp. 38-44. Also see, Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 95.
[139] Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 84.

required a production of self-disciplined subjects who could be trusted to plan their 'proper' role in the free world.[140] A draft paper prepared in the Department of State for consideration by the NSC on 20 June 1950 thus proclaimed:

> The American objective in the Philippines is to achieve and preserve a stable and self-supporting economy, and a reasonably honest and efficient government, in order that it may plan its proper role in the community of free nations…[141]

The imperial subjugation involves mapping of 'others' in accordance to Western understandings of the world. In other words, 'truth' about representations hinges more on the power inheriting the locus of enunciation – who is describing whom, who is representing, and who is being represented. The economic mapping of the 'underdeveloped' and the 'third world' others leads to an 'expertise' in specific areas that puts into play narratives of identity/difference.[142] The discourse surrounding the economic development of the free world produced through the Foreign Policy texts of Atoms for Peace worked towards articulating these signifiers and thereby fix their meanings and reinscribe this boundary. Representational practices whereby meaning of assisting the 'underdeveloped' and 'third world' were fixed led to a reinscription of US identity as a 'developed' country inextricably connected to the global nuclear order concomitantly perpetuating the internal/external divide.[143]

Nevertheless, internal debate on dangers of commercial nuclear technology sharing and the inherent risk of proliferation was rife. This was indicative in a US Department of Energy Report published in July 1983, wherein it was mentioned that it was only after exhaustive hearing in the spring of 1954 and congressional debate during the earlier summer that a new law opened the door for an exchange of nuclear technology with other nations.[144] The risk of sharing nuclear information for peaceful purposes was generally understood. While not directly

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[141] Cited in Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 85.
[142] Krishna, *Globalization and Postcolonialism*, p. 75.
[143] Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 87.
[144] Alice Buck, 'The Atomic Energy Commission', July 1983, US Department of Energy, Office of Management, Office of Executive Secretariat, Office of History and Heritage Resources, p. 7, http://energy.gov/sites/prod/files/AEC%20History.pdf (Accessed on 26/10/14).

contradicting the administration's Atoms for Peace policy, in September 1955, Isador Rabi, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission General Advisory Committee, told the State Department nuclear affairs adviser Gerard Smith that without effective international controls to prevent the diversion of commercial nuclear facilities to military uses, 'even a country like India, when it had some plutonium production, would go into the weapons business'.[145] In a similar vein, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles called for a policy to curb the 'promiscuous spread' of nuclear arms.[146] To this end, new export policy was initiated which required recipients of US fissile materials or reactors to send used fuel elements to US facilities for chemical processing; to establish adequate production accounting, inspection, and other control technologies; and eventually to accept IAEA safeguards. In practice, however, US enforcement of these measures was not very strict, other nuclear supplier states adopted even more relaxed controls, and the IAEA safeguards system turned out to be looser than originally envisioned.[147] As predicted by Isador Rabi in 1955, foreign nuclear technology recipients such as India, Pakistan, South Africa, and Israel did slip through the cracks of the nascent non-proliferation regime only after the full-fledged implementation of Atoms for Peace.[148]

While counter-narratives did promote greater caution when dealing with nuclear information sharing on a commercial basis, official narratives sought to redress these alternative views with confident overtures of American responsibility to bring the atomic energy into widespread application, whatever the risks. As the first Atomic Energy Commission chairman, David Lilienthal, recalled:

> This prodigious effort was predicated on the belief and hope that this great new source of energy for mankind could produce results as dramatically and decisively beneficial to man as the bomb was dramatically destructive.[149]

[145] Gerard Smith, 14 September 1955, FRUS, 1955-1957, vol. 20, p. 198 (memorandum for the file), cited in Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.
[146] Cited in William B. Bader, *The United States and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (New York: Pegasus, 1968), pp. 29-35, in Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.
[147] Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] David E. Lilienthal, *Change, Hope and the Bomb* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 96, cited in Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.

Lilienthal's successor, Lewis Strauss, expressed this hope in a September 1954 speech:

> It is not too much to expect that our children will enjoy electrical energy too cheap to meter—will know of great periodic regional famines only as a matter of history—will travel effortlessly over the seas and through the air with a minimum of danger and at great speeds—and will experience a life-span far longer than ours, as disease yields and man comes to understand what causes him to age. This is the forecast for an age of peace.[150]

The creation of difference in political economy, whereby America as 'developed' nation had a duty to help the 'underdeveloped' nations of the world to prosper, enabled the administration to promote and implement Atoms for Peace despite the lingering possibilities of proliferation. In fact, the administration's approach towards South Asia in mid-1950s was instructive in a policy directive: NSC 5409 (U.S. Policy toward South Asia) in which President approved in March 1954 to support 'strong, stable and responsible governments' in a region that is 'a major battleground in the Cold War'.[151] This meant providing generous credit lines and nuclear technology assistance. The underdeveloped regions of the world, especially in the East and the South, needed assistance to develop and assume responsibilities. The spatial and temporal demarcations placed US as inhabiting a western hemisphere that was progressive and responsible by nature while the Soviet 'other' along with other 'developing' countries of the South were relegated to the eastern sphere of backwardness and economic weakness.[152] The narrative of political economy underscored and supported narratives of peace, democratic

[150] Strauss cited in Stephen Hilgartner, Richard C. Bell and Rory O'Connor eds., *Nukespeak: The Selling of Nuclear Technology in America* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1982), p. 44. See, Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.

[151] 'U.S. Policy toward South Asia', NSC 5409, 19 February 1954, p.1, cited in Lavoy, 'The Enduring Effects of Atoms for Peace'.

[152] It is also important to note, that construction of America as a 'developed' nation through Atoms for Peace also complemented and fed into larger propaganda of 'People's Capitalism'. People's Capitalism was an attempt to trumpet US material prosperity and individual opportunity to the world. People's Capitalism propaganda created images of United States as an entity that had evolved the highest standard of living, social security, hospitalisation benefits, labour unions, and public education. This propaganda was specifically undertaken to contradict Communist Party inspired narrations of oppressed workers and a vicious ruling class perpetuated through American form of economic imperialism. Instead, People's Capitalism emphasised rising incomes and the growth of American middle class. Ultimately as opposed to communist form of central economy, the less developed countries would benefit from capitalist forms of production through which America had prospered. For more on this see, Walter L. Hixon, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda Culture and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 133-150.

freedom, and scientific development in their attempt to craft a positive nuclear identity for United States.

Conclusion

Identity is performatively constituted through a struggle between narratives and counter-narratives indicating an operation of discursive power. This chapter followed the creation of American nuclear subjectivity in the post-war world. While the Atoms for Peace programme, as a foreign policy event, has always been significant in terms of unleashing global nuclear order, the narratives that sought to establish a certain form of 'we-ness' demonstrated an unprecedented effort on part of the Eisenhower administration to stabilise a positive nuclear identity for America in time (now) and space (here). Throughout this chapter it was shown that establishing *a* state identity in terms of 'what we stand for' and 'what we are' is a process of struggle. However, once a dominant narrative is able to establish its position, it then becomes a matter of belonging to an in-group as opposed to an out-group, and the relevant policies that are needed in defence of this in-group, then become validated.

The great power narratives, focusing on US exceptionalism juxtaposed a critical juncture wherein American nuclear subjectivity was marked as inherently dependent on a particular world order and vice-versa. Narratives of peace and justice, democratic freedom, scientific advancement and economic progress performed an integral role of making and framing the 'self' as distinct from the foreign USSR 'other', thereby engendering the self in the very process. The significance of *emplotment* was apparent in various public political discourses, as an effort was made to craft the present role of the United States through an appropriation of the past and the future. This enabled the administration to successfully craft a particular narrative configuration by weaving discontinuous events into a continuous story that provided positive subject position to characterise responses and actions in the civil nuclear domain as well as nuclear weapons technology.

Through great power narratives, the role of the 'self' was performed through boundary marking practices of Foreign Policy. The narrative of peace expounded upon the dangers that were faced by the world at large in an atomic age, in which America as a force of decency and justice had to play an invaluable role. This identity was also underscored by the civilisational heritage of Christendom that espoused salvation, sacrifice and stewardship of America as a God chosen nation. In a similar manner, the narrative of democratic freedom gauged a role for America, a democratic country that had no imperial ambitions and only a desire to enable free nations of the world to experience these manifestations of democratic ideals through equality. The narrative of scientific advancement drew comparison between great discoveries of the past and atomic science wherein America was devoted to constructive use of science. Also, economic progress of the free world was framed as inherently important and therefore the world wide availability of cheap power through nuclear energy was deemed crucial in order to replicate US economic success.

While the global nuclear order was tied to the existence of American self, the implementation of Atoms for Peace as well as retention of nuclear weapons was made possible, only through identity politics as negotiated through inequalities, *spatially* and *temporally*. The spatial demarcations of West, North, and Western hemisphere as free and productive depicted the United States as an inherently progressive nation. Temporal themes were utilised through dichotomies in race, political economy, and gender that made the United States unthreatening and peaceful. Through a concentration on race, elites eulogised America on the side of righteousness and justice and a force for good. More importantly, even paternalistic narratives reinforced a particular form of nationhood, through sexualised images of manliness. As opposed to feminine whims, America was more attuned with manly qualities of strength, forbearance and firmness. Furthermore, masculinity was also consolidated through the patriarchal responsibility of protecting and guiding the nations of the free world in the right direction. The developed nature of the American economy also laid a crucial end point, towards

which other underdeveloped nations of the world could progress. These identity constructions, that made a nuclear America an inherently peaceful nation and the only state with capacities to salvage the world from future global catastrophes, pointed towards imperial designs as made possible through great power narratives.

As is evident in the following chapters, the narratives that constituted American nuclear subjectivity through Atoms for Peace, from 1951 to 1960, were to remain important as these provided a discursive structure of shared meaning. As demonstrated in the next chapter, these shared concepts and identity frames were re-utilised when addressing India as the 'other', through great power narratives that inextricably tied the American 'self' to the global nuclear order.

Chapter Four

Is India a Capable Nuclear Power? The Changing Characteristics of India as the 'Other' (1947-1992)

Introduction

Chapter Three focused on how actors within a given historical context, strive to give meaning to a particular reality through which the identity of a state comes to be negotiated in time and space. It was demonstrated that these negotiations invariably take the form of great power narratives, especially in the case of the United States, through which international and domestic expectations of nuclear 'America' are shaped. My argument is that these narratives are important in understanding US nuclear policies since the 1950s and the various transitions that have taken place within the global nuclear order over the years. The designation of a state as a great power either empowers or constrains it in accordance with the situations that arise. In this chapter, my aim is to understand how the great power narratives generated by the Atoms for Peace programme provided a discursive framework for elites that both enabled and constrained US nuclear engagement with India mainly through the contestation of narratives of 'America', as tied to the global nuclear order. Ultimately, great power narratives are crucial in constituting global orders. The process of defining 'who we are' and 'what kind of system we want', leads to a multiplicity of negotiating sites through which the great power identity achieves coherence, stability, or a complete transition leading to either maintenance of a particular world order or its demise or transition into a new form. As Eric Voegelin contends:

> Conceptions of order . . . are always accompanied by self interpretation of that order as meaningful . . . that is about the particular meaning that order has. In this sense, self interpretation is always part . . . of the reality of order, of political order, or, as we might say, of history.[1]

This chapter is based on instances of shaping the global nuclear order that led to an emplotment of the US 'self' through the narratives already established with the implementation of Atoms for Peace. Of particular concern here is that US-India nuclear engagement within the parameters of the global nuclear order and framings of the US 'self' that relied on representations of India as the 'other'. However, it is important to note that the 'other' is simultaneously involved in maintaining difference in an effort to establish/regenerate a particular identity. Thus politics of difference involves intertextuality, in the sense that each successive effort to mutually represent the other incorporates tropes available from previous interactions. This indicates that representations of India as the 'other' between 1947 and 1992 did not occur in a vacuum, but were the result of on-going interaction between leaders of the two nations to arbitrate a national nuclear identity thereby charting their global nuclear roles. This interaction assumed the form of great power narrative against rising power counter-narrative, through which binaries are instantiated by interpretations of 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender' and attain critical importance. The dominant modes of representation that prescribe a particular policy, therefore, points towards the workings of narrative power.

In order to effectively gauge the politics of difference as attained through narratives and counter-narratives, this chapter takes into consideration the key Foreign Policy 'discursive events'. 'Discursive event(s)', as outlined in Chapter Two, generate a plethora of discourses in order to stabilise or reproduce *a* particular state identity. Firstly, I undertake an evaluation of US-India nuclear engagement from the period of 1947-1964. The two key discursive events considered are: the Colombo Plan for research reactor CIRUS that commenced operation in

[1] Cited in Nicholas J. Rengger, *International Relations, Political Theory, and the Problem of Order: Beyond International Relations Theory?* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 1, as cited by Miskimmon, et al., *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*, p. 60.

July 1960; and US-India cooperation in the first reprocessing plant commissioned in Trombay 1964. As it can be seen, this was a period of nuclear cooperation between the two nations and therefore this section aims to evaluate how this cooperation was achieved and sustained. Secondly, I take into consideration the period 1965-1980. This period was detrimental to US-India nuclear engagement as it was marked by discord. The three key discursive events focused upon are: the Non-Proliferation Treaty which entered into force in 1970; the establishment of the Nuclear Suppliers Group in 1975; and the passage of the US Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act in 1978. Thirdly, I trace the continuation of this discord from 1981 to 1992 and the two discursive events taken into consideration are: the Tarapur dispute over the period of 1982-1985; and the politics of Global Zero from 1987-1992. In combination with the previous chapter, this chapter sets a context for the narrative and counter-narrative frames which provided a framework of shared meaning and contextual history, through which both the Bill Clinton (1993-2001) and George W. Bush (2001-2009) administrations negotiated US nuclear identity and thereby relevant policies whilst maintaining difference from India as the 'other'.

Formative representation of India (1947-1964)

This section seeks to understand how nuclear cooperation between US and India was achieved during this period. Through an analysis of narrative identity, it is demonstrated that initial cooperation was possible as the actors' narratives represented India in unequal terms that strengthened the US position as the great power, capable of guiding the international nuclear order.

Background to the discursive events

Diplomatically, US-India relations were established on a firm foundation as the United States was among the first countries to recognise India as an independent state on 15 August 1947. The formal process that led to Indian independence began on 16 May 1946 when the British government recommended the formation of an interim government in India to devise a

constitution as part of a process by which India would achieve independence from Great Britain. The Interim Government of India was formed on 2 September 1946, and it was with this government that the United States established diplomatic relations. Even before India acquired formal independence from Great Britain, the administration of Harry S. Truman recognised Indian sovereign statehood. The US Department of State announced on 22 October 1946 that the Government of India and the United States had 'agreed to an exchange of ambassadors and to the raising of their respective missions…to the rank of embassies'.[2]

As part of Atoms for Peace, the first substantial joint venture into the nuclear domain was the commission of CIRUS (Canada-India Reactor, US). A large research reactor named CIRUS was jointly built by India and Canada through an intergovernmental agreement under the Colombo Plan. This was a heavy moderated 40 MWe reactor largely based on the design of the Canadian National Research Experimental (NRX) reactor that commenced operation in July 1960. The US agreed to provide heavy water for this reactor and thus CIRUS became a joint project of all three countries.[3] On the basis of these technologies, India was indigenously able to build a third nuclear research reactor named DHRUVA, which attained criticality on 8 August 1985.[4] DHRUVA, a 100 MWe reactor was used in neutron beam research studies involving material science and nuclear fission processes.[5]

[2] 'A Guide to the United States' history of recognition, diplomatic, and consular relations, by country, since 1776: India', *Office of the Historian*, US Department of State, http://history.state.gov/countries/india (Accessed on 08/10/13).
[3] 'Indian Nuclear Energy Program', Central Intelligence Agency, Office of Scientific Intelligence, 6 November 1964, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/IN06.pdf (Accessed on 05/06/13). Also see, M. V. Ramana, 'Nuclear Power in India: Failed Past, Dubious Future', in Henry Sokolski ed., *Gauging US-Indian Strategic Cooperation* (Strategic Studies Institute of the US Army War College (SSI), Carlisle, United States, 2007), pp. 78-98, see p. 75. Inspection rights were placed only on the fuel supplied by Canada which was first half of the first loading. India then took over this responsibility. The heavy water used for moderation was purchased from the US without safeguards. Although it was agreed that CIRUS will be devoted to peaceful uses only, in the end, the plutonium from CIRUS was used by India for the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion in 1974. CIRUS was decommissioned in December 2010.
[4] DHRUVA Reactor, http://barc.gov.in/reactor/index.html (Accessed on 06/09/15).
[5] 'Nuclear Power in India', World Nuclear Association, http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/Country-Profiles/Countries-G-N/India/ (Accessed on 08/10/13).

In addition to heavy water for CIRUS, the US also was also the source of technology for the first reprocessing plant in Trombay commissioned in 1964. The plant, named Project Phoenix, was set up to separate plutonium from spent fuel rods irradiated at the CIRUS reactor. The design of the plant was based on the blueprints released by the US Atomic Energy Commission as part of the Atoms for Peace programme. An American firm, Vitro International, was contracted to prepare the blueprints for the plant, although Indian engineers subsequently modified the plans in actual construction.[6] The offshoot of Trombay was the Tarapur Atomic Power Station (TAPS), which became a pivotal example of the US desire to expand the global market of nuclear energy. Homi Bhabha, the father of the Indian nuclear industry, wanted to augment the Indo-US cooperation in nuclear industry and this materialised into an agreement for an atomic power project in May 1964. Along with favourable lines of credit, the General Electric Co. provided two Boiling Water Reactors (BWRs) of 210 MWe that commenced commercial operation in October 1969. Both reactors were under international safeguards. The United States agreed to provide enriched uranium fuel for the next 30 years, although withdrew later from the arrangement due to the 1974 nuclear test by India. The supply was then taken over by France, China and Russia in succession.[7]

The similarity of history in terms of acquiring independence from the same colonial empire was a contributing factor in the immediate recognition of India. However, a crucial difference still remained between the two countries. The United States had emerged as a mighty super-power as a result of World War II whereas India was only in the early stages of consolidating and establishing statehood. The conflict between great power and rising power was evident, as the narratives of the US administrations sought to cast an imperial gaze over their new partner while the narratives expounded mainly by the elites of the Congress Party of India,

[6] M.V. Ramana, 'Nuclear Power in India', p. 76, and George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), p. 28.
[7] 'Tarapur Atomic Power Station (TAPS)', Nuclear Threat Initiative, http://www.nti.org/facilities/77/ (Accessed on 09/06/13). 'Tarapur Atomic Power Station (TAPS)', Weapons of Mass Destruction, http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/india/tarapur.htm (Accessed on 09/06/13).

simultaneously viewed the US with a postcolonial gaze challenging its authority at various points and subsequently causing turmoil in the later period, as discussed below. Ironically, India's representation as the 'other' in unequal terms led to some interesting cooperation in the nuclear realm under the Atoms for Peace programme, as the actors sought to maintain *a* great power US identity.

The science of developing an atom: Early images of India as a 'scientifically handicapped' country during the implementation of Atoms for Peace (1947-1964)

The narrative of science of the atom for 'constructive' uses and US mastery over this form of 'new' science enabled the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations to enter into nuclear cooperation with India. As seen in the previous chapter, this narrative justified and validated the implementation of Atoms for Peace because it was largely based on an argument provided by the administration elites in terms of a prerogative and a responsibility of America to ensure that the fruits of the atom could be utilised for the betterment of free countries of the world, so they could flourish and embark on to a path of peace and progress. The assistance of India in the nuclear realm thus largely combined tropes of scientific assistance and technological aid to a less developed country. The construction of 'other' with limited scientific capability was crucial in order to define 'self' as advanced, so that an action of assisting the growth of scientific sector of the other could validate the identity of the self in the process. Towards this milieu, the CIA Scientific Intelligence Report issued in 1958 termed India as a 'scientifically handicapped' country. The report stated that India was seeking large-scale help in the nuclear industry, which would assist its domestic capability:

> India will advance her program as rapidly as will be permitted by an acute shortage of trained scientists and technicians, a lack of foreign exchange to import needed equipment, and financial restrictions on the program occasioned by more urgent undertakings of the new government. Nevertheless, India will not have a significant capability for organized research in nuclear energy for 5 to 10 years.[8]

[8] 'Indian Nuclear Energy Program', Scientific Intelligence Report, 26 March 1958, Central Intelligence Agency, p. 1, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/IN01.pdf (Accessed on 05/06/13).

The representation of India as technologically incapable with slim knowledge in nuclear energy programme and other areas of nuclear related rocket and ballistic missiles, made it automatically unthreatening to the US as the report predicted that in this state India 'will not direct any effort toward the military application of nuclear energy'.[9] While scientific incapability was a major factor that defined the 'other', an incorporation of racial configurations in civilisational terms complemented this inequality. For instance, the capacity of US trained Indian scientists to carry on with same degree of professionalism back in India was questioned as the report goes on to note:

> India has been obliged to send her students abroad for advanced scientific training, lacking adequate facilities at home. Particularly for those trained in the United States where complex equipment is readily available, the Indian scientist returning from training abroad is under a handicap because the Hindu philosophy does not prepare him for the necessity of building and maintaining his own equipment. Returning to India, the trained scientist must carry a heavy load of teaching and administrative duties, usually in old and poorly equipped facilities. There are no significant industrial research laboratories; consequently, scientific employment is exclusively government and/or university work.[10]

The above paragraph makes a connection between scientific capabilities as influenced by the 'Hindu philosophy'. While Indian scientists were described as constrained mainly due to operating under the duress of Hindu philosophy, the framings of a United States where 'complex equipment is readily available', fused scientific ingenuity with the virtues of Christendom. Such representation of India confirmed the scientific advancement of the United States in the realm of nuclear technology and weaponry and thereby in race/civilisational terms. The supply of 21 tons of heavy water to India by the US for CIRUS as well as Indian and United Kingdom agreement to cooperate in the promotion and development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the Canada-India agreement through the Colombo Plan project, came to be legitimised in this context.[11]

[9] *Ibid*.
[10] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[11] *Ibid*., pp. 6-7.

The narrative of scientific assistance was also merged with the narrative of economic progress of the world. Since India was categorised as a 'less developed country', the growth in the peaceful uses of nuclear technology was considered to be a prerequisite for the economic development of India along with other forms of economic aid. Diversion of resources to the military was least expected as a possibility, since it was argued that it would put a strain on an already fragile economy. Nuclear technological help along with wider economic aid was promoted as a policy through the late 1950s and early 1960s as reflected in Dwight D. Eisenhower's personal letter to Nehru:

> I know that you and your Government are keenly aware of the need for economic progress as a prime requisite for stability and strength. This Government has extended assistance to India in recognition of this fact, and I am recommending to Congress a continuation of economic and technical aid for this reason. We also believe it in the interest of the free world that India have a strong military defense capability and have admired the effective way your Government has administered your military establishment.[12]

Thus, the rhetoric of technical and economic aid to emerging or developing country such as India, utilised identity tropes from the narrative framework of Atoms for Peace in terms of assisting the nations of the free world to achieve and ensure world stability. The state-based Foreign Policy was able to re-inscribe boundaries in terms of the self as technologically and economically developed through the lexicons already available bringing to light the workings of a 'foreign policy'.

Although not directly in terms of scientific cooperation, a 'harmonious' relationship between the US and India was also presumed to be beneficial for the world during this period. It is important to note, while the Nehru led Congress government proactively engaged in the nuclear assistance programme with the United States, fully-fledged US-India diplomatic relations were

[12] Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Letter to Prime Minister Nehru of India Concerning U.S. Military Aid to Pakistan', 25 February 1954. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10170 (Accessed on 04/06/13).

generally considered with suspicion. Loy W. Henderson, the US Ambassador to India from 1948-51 tried to assuage Nehru as he recalled his first conversation with Nehru in an interview:

> When I paid my first call on him I told him that I had a sense of great responsibility since the United States was one of the great powers of the Western world and India was the greatest power of the new emerging world, and that close friendly relations between us seemed to me to be important not only to the United States and India but for a harmonious world in the future.[13]

The formulation of East-West stability though the great power/rising power dichotomy was an important resolution for the United States as it fed directly into the discourses of stability in terms of East-West détente between the Soviet Union and the United States. Framing India within a spatial position of the East positioned the US within the geographical realm of the West which subsequently enabled actors to secure American identity in future dealings with the Soviet Union and the larger eastern bloc.[14]

Through counter-narratives, the elites of the Congress Party sought to undo these articulations in order to sustain an Indian identity as a rising power simultaneously challenging US identity as a great power. According to Frenise A. Logan, the United States was viewed by some Third World countries in Asia and Africa as a nation with questionable values because of discrimination against its own non-white citizens, especially blacks.[15] This contradiction received widespread and specific attention in India as it was the leading speaker for Third World countries, following its political independence from Britain in 1947. An observer noted in 1951 at the United Nations gathering, reflecting an Indian point of view:

> …the democracy which the Indian mind sees in the West ... has a double standard, one for the white man and another for the coloured man... The Indian is most sensitive to this vexed question of color. That is why he is prone to judge the United States by her treatment of her Negro population. Tell the Indian about the finer aspects of life in the

[13] 'Oral History Interview with Loy W. Henderson', Career in the US Department of State, 1922-60, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/hendrson.htm#subjects (Accessed on 09/06/13).
[14] Adrian S. Fisher, 'The Impact of a Comprehensive Test Ban on Proliferation', United States Arms Control and Disarmament, 19 August 1965, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb323/doc04.pdf (Accessed on 01/10/13).
[15] Frenise A. Logan, 'Racism and Indian-US Relations, 1947-1953: Views in the Indian Press', *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 54, no. 1, 1985, pp. 71-79.

> United States and he will agree with you. But invariably the question will follow: What sort of democracy is it which treats its Negroes that way?[16]

In the above paragraph, the West-East spatial dimension was maintained although the Western form of democracy was largely defined as a practice of 'double standard' that differentiated between the races. Thus the notion of Western supremacy was critically questioned. This postcolonial gaze transpired into interpretations of international global order, where Indian elites continually contested negotiations between the visions of a hierarchical bipolar global order structured by the Cold War and visions of decentralised global order inspired by decolonisation. As opposed to the US intentions, India's main aim was to create equality in the representation of different states in the global nuclear order, which could be logically achieved only through disarmament.[17] This position of India was apparent in the politics of the IAEA and disarmament negotiations at the UN as from the beginning, India led newly independent 'developing' nations to ensure that emerging hierarchies do not perpetuate global inequalities.[18] In September 1957, India's UN representative Arthur S. Lall, for instance, proposed an expansion of the Disarmament Commission and its Subcommittee. He called for the 'inclusion of additional countries in the membership of these groups in order to assist and intensify the search for a solution to the disarmament problem'.[19] Contrary to the Eisenhower administration's stand at the time, Krishna Menon, the Indian representative to the Disarmament Commission urged for the suspension of nuclear-weapons tests, a halt in the construction of A-bombs and partial dismantling by the US and the USSR of atomic weapons.[20] On 16 October 1957, Menon publicly called for a universal ban on nuclear tests noting: 'There

[16] M. Balaraman, 'Is India Instructable?', *United Nations World*, January 1951, p. 45, cited in Logan, 'Racism and Indian-US Relations, 1947-1953: Views in the Indian Press', p. 79.
[17] Gabrielle Hecht, 'Negotiating Global Nuclearities: Apartheid, Decolonization, and the Cold War in the making of the IAEA', in John Krige and Kai-Henrik Barth eds., *Global Power Knowledge: Science, Technology, and International Affairs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 25-48, p. 26.
[18] Hecht, 'Negotiating Global Nuclearities', p. 34.
[19] Extended Chronology of Significant Events Relations to Disarmament during the period 1 June 1956 – 30 November 1957, p. 185, http://www.dod.mil/pubs/foi/joint_staff/jointStaff_jointOperations/603.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13).
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 10, p. 191, p. 202.

is no such thing as a clean bomb'.[21] This was in a marked contradiction to Secretary of State Dulles's description of US nuclear programme as an effort to develop 'clean weapons'.[22] Addressing the Indian Parliament on 20 April 1954, in the aftermath of the US H-Bomb tests at Bikini, Nehru proclaimed he hoped 'peoples of the world' would add their voices and influence 'to arrest the progress of this destructive potential, which menaces all alike'.[23] In terms of safeguards, Indian actors also offered stiff resistance to US endeavours. Homi J. Bhabha, Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) India, played a decisive role in India's successful effort to weaken the scope of the safeguards in IAEA draft statute of 10 September 1956.[24] Bolstering Bhabha's critique of the safeguards was the argument that the technologically advanced states, particularly those that had nuclear weapons, would not need aid and therefore would be free from the safeguards applied to the less technologically independent. This would instantiate a dangerous era 'sharply dividing the world into atomic 'haves' and 'have nots' dominated by the Agency', he argued.[25] Such a division would defeat the very purpose of safeguards, that is, to build 'a secure and peaceful world'.[26] The difference between technologically advanced/technologically dependent states was maintained, however, the former were accused of perpetuating this divide through international nuclear regimes.

Narrative power was evident, as the administration's Foreign Policy texts increasingly concentrated on the man/woman dichotomy to counter the narratives of Indian elites in the disarmament realm. India's neutralism, of not taking sides in the politics of Soviet Union and the United States in the context of nuclear and general diplomatic realm, was seen as 'passive',

[21] *Ibid*., p. 203.
[22] Secretary of the State Dulles's address to the UN General Assembly, 19 September 1957, cited in the Extended Chronology of Significant Events, p. 186.
[23] 'The H-Bomb and World Opinion', *BAS* I0 (May 1954), p. 165; *New York Times*, 3, 5, 13 April 1954, cited in Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, p. 99.
[24] Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 28.
[25] Bhabha, Statement at the Conference on the IAEA Statute, 27 September 1956, cited in George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 29.
[26] *Ibid*.

'servile' and 'cowardly'.[27] The effeminised representation of India as the 'other' in US discourses was not something new. Early 20th century writers always contrasted West and India in the way that evoked gender. The West, in this sense, was grasping, materialistic, scientific, calculating whereas India was spiritual, impulsive, and irrational. 'The masculine science of the West', wrote Greenbie, 'has been found out and wooed and loved or scourged this sleepy maiden of mysticism'.[28] In the discourse of Indian relations with the West, Richard Cronin concludes 'one metaphor emerges as dominant. The West is a man, the East is a woman'.[29] The implicit referencing to past such texts was evident as the US policy makers constantly evoked the qualities of the West as tough and rational, and the East as emotional and sensitive. 'Nehru is a man of broad vision and integrity', noted the CIA in 1948, and it was further added, 'but his character is weakened toward emotionalism which at times destroys his sense of values'.[30] In 1954, the law partner of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles wrote that Indians had 'an almost feminine hypersensitiveness with respect to the prestige of their country'.[31] President Eisenhower agreed with this evaluation as he wrote to Dulles: 'This is one area of the world where, even more that most cases, emotion rather than reason seems to dictate policy'.[32] Since Nehru was a staunch supporter of international disarmament, the figurative protection of the woman was also transferred to the US approach vis-à-vis India in the nuclear realm. For instance, Secretary of State Dean Rusk elaborated:

> Nations such as India that do not seek national nuclear weapons can be sure that if they need our strong support against some threat of nuclear blackmail, then they will have

[27] Andrew J. Rotter, 'Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947-1964', p. 199, https://ohiostatepress.org/Books/Complete%20PDFs/Hahn%20Empire/10.pdf (Accessed on 04/10/13).
[28] Sydney Greenbie, *The Romantic East* (New York, 1930), p. 15, cited in Rotter, 'Gender Relations, Foreign Relations', p. 197.
[29] Richard Cronin, *Imagining India* (New York, 1989), p. 147, cited in Rotter, p. 197.
[30] Central Intelligence Agency, Situation Report (SR)-21, 'India-Pakistan', 16 September 1948, President's Secretary's Files (PSF), Box 260, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, MO., cited in Rotter, 'Gender Relations, Foreign Relations' p. 200.
[31] Eustace Seligman to Dulles, 4 November 1954, John Foster Dulles Papers, General Correspondence and Memoranda Series, Box 3, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS, cited in Rotter, 'Gender Relations, Foreign Relations', p. 199.
[32] Eisenhower to Dulles, 16 November 1953, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, file 611.90D/11-1653, National Archives II, College Park, MD, cited in Rotter, 'Gender Relations, Foreign Relations', p. 199.

> it. Obviously we do not intend to stand by and watch India be threatened with nuclear destruction.[33]

Susan Jeffords has argued that while the US definition of masculinity may change over time, 'it remains consistently opposed to the feminine', those characteristics that must be discarded in order to actualise masculinity.[34] The passage above denotes that the weak need 'strong' support, and thereby confirms the logic of masculine/feminine dichotomy in self/other relations as constituted by actors' narratives.

Cooperation between the US and India under the Atoms for Peace programme can be largely attributed to representations of India in unequal terms through narratives of scientific assistance, which served to reproduce the great power identity of the US and thus contributing towards the establishment of a global nuclear order where American exceptionalism was accepted and enforced. The following section takes into consideration how the emplotment of the self through Foreign Policy texts structured relations of identity/difference in the context of NPT and how this constituted nuclear discord.

The politics of NPT and representation of India (1965-1980)

This section analyses the constitution of US nuclear policies as a result of narrative identity deployed through discursive frameworks enabling the recognition of India as the 'other'. It is demonstrated that the narrative frame shifted from assistance in the scientific realm to constraints on a 'technically backward' and a 'developing' country, in terms of devoting resources towards weaponisation. The difference based on the dichotomy of developed/developing, reinstated US nuclear identity as a great power, albeit it also led to a

[33] 'State Department Telegram for Governor Harriman from the Secretary', 27 February 1965, Central Files of the Department of State, Record, Group 59, National Archives, p. 6, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB6/docs/doc07.pdf (Accessed on 11/06/13).
[34] Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington: IN, 1989), p. xii, cited in Rotter, Gender Relations, Foreign Relations', p. 201.

discord with rising power India, as elites/actors within the Congress Party were actively engaging in politics of difference vis-à-vis the US.

Background to the discursive events

The Irish proposal set in motion a critical debate in the United States, in terms of whether to halt proliferation by promoting nuclear sharing so as to inhibit temptation in other countries to nuclearise or to promote a complete nuclear abstinence.[35] The issue of safeguards, therefore, became a contentious issue in preliminary NPT discussions.[36] Indian disenchantment with the safeguards stemmed from their inapplicability to nuclear facilities that were of supreme importance for the national security of superpowers, while states joining as Non-nuclear Weapons States (NNWS) had to submit all their nuclear facilities, even those intended for peaceful purposes. These concerns were later raised by Homi Sethna, the director of Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC), with US officials in New Delhi where he proclaimed that India will not allow any sort of interference in its nuclear programme. The disagreement prevailed between the US and India as safeguards of the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) amounted to *voluntary offer arrangements* (VOA) under the NPT, which meant that only those materials and activities designated by the NWS were *eligible* for application of safeguards by the IAEA.[37] Along with safeguards, the preliminary discussions of NPT were rife with arguments over the superpower arms race and disarmament. By the mid-1960s, for the non-

[35] Beginning with an initiative by Ireland in 1958, elements in the international community had floated various proposals for a treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. The United States, The Soviet Union, France, and others vacillated in their reactions to the proposal. In 1964 momentum had built to do something to ward off imminent proliferation. For more on this issues see, George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 99.

[36] 'U.S. Proposal on Safeguards', US Mission Geneva Cable 1503 to U.S. Department of State, NPT Safeguards Article, 3 November 1967, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb253/doc06.pdf (Accessed on 02/07/13). 'Safeguards', State Department Cable 127754 to US Embassies to Canada, United Kingdom, Italy, et al., Non-Proliferation Treaty Safeguards Article, 30 January 1967, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb253/doc03.pdf (Accessed on 02/07/13).

[37] 'Conversation with Senior GOI Nuclear Official', 7 May 1968, Embassy New Delhi Telegram, Central files of the Department of State, Record Group 59, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB6/docs/doc17.pdf (Accessed on 12/06/13). For Safeguards see, Adolf von Baeckmann, 'IAEA safeguards in nuclear-weapon States: A review of objectives, purposes, and achievements', *International Atomic Energy Agency Bulletin*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1988, p. 23, https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/publications/magazines/bulletin/bull30-1/30103552224.pdf (Accessed on 02/07/13).

nuclear nations the greatest threat to global stability was superpower arms race and weapons acquisition. Therefore India and Sweden, in June of 1965, recommended to the UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC) a series of new measures in the NPT that would 'cap' the arms race between the superpowers.[38] Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara proclaimed this Indian demand as 'inconsistent', for it would compromise US ability to provide credible security assurances.[39] This would increase the dangers of proliferation rather than diminishing them as US 'guarantees' played crucial role in dissuading alliance partners from going nuclear in the first place.

For the US, the purpose of the NPT was to prevent horizontal proliferation i.e., the acquisition of nuclear weapons by the NNWS. The matter of vertical proliferation i.e., the ownership and acquisition by the NWS was subject to further negotiation and contention.[40] As a result, the NPT gave only lip service to the universal disarmament provisions spelled out in Article VI. For India, the crux of the nuclear problem was not the status of the NNWS but the NWS. Indian diplomacy at the negotiations of the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference (ENDC) in July 1965, where the non-proliferation treaty was being negotiated, emphasised an agreement for a universal nuclear disarmament. The eight non-aligned countries in the ENDC stated that any support for the NPT would be warranted only if 'tangible steps to halt the nuclear arms race and to limit, reduce, and eliminate stock of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery' were achieved.[41] However, in successive discussions, the categorisation of NWS as those who conducted test before 1 January 1967, dampened the Indian enthusiasm.[42] A decision was taken

[38] US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *Documents on Disarmament, 1967* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 463 and 529, cited in Henry Sokolski, 'What Does the History of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty Tell US about its future?', in Henry Sokolski eds., *Fighting Proliferation: New Concerns for the Nineties* (Washington D.C.: The Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, 1999).
[39] 'Meeting Between the Secretary of Defense and Mr. L.K. Jha, Tuesday April 18 at 10 am', Memorandum of Conversation from the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, 25 April 1967, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB6/docs/doc15.pdf (Accessed on 12/06/13).
[40] John Carlson, 'Expanding Safeguards in Nuclear-Weapon States', Nuclear Threat Initiative, p. 2, http://www.nti.org/media/pdfs/NWS_safeguards_carlson_fin.pdf?_=1337718775 (Accessed on 01/07/13).
[41] Leonard Weiss, 'India and the NPT', *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2010, pp. 255-271, see p. 260.
[42] At this juncture, Mrs. Gandhi's premiership was beset by socio-economic problems and her ambitious agricultural policies had weakened her position with the powerful land owning class. The movement against corruption was widespread in India and Congress government was being voted out at the state-level. Thus Mrs.

to exercise the 'nuclear option' by approving a nuclear test. The first Indian nuclear test was conducted in Pokhran, in the state of Rajasthan on 18 May 1974. Although India preferred to address it as a 'peaceful nuclear explosion' (PNE), it drew sharp criticism from the international community and especially the US.

India's nuclear test was a stark reminder to the international community that nuclear cooperation intended for peaceful uses could be transformed into militarisation. Plutonium generated in the CIRUS reactor that was dedicated solely to peaceful uses was utilised in the PNE. This event prompted the US and the UK to find alternatives to strengthen the nuclear technology business outside the bounds of NPT and the Zangger Committee.[43] A decision was thus taken to establish a voluntary mechanism that could reign in the technology transfers. The incentive for such an organisation was to strengthen the multilateral controls on export of nuclear technology and to bring within its sphere the countries which were at that point outside of the NPT, mainly France and Japan.[44] The negotiations on the draft began in 1975 and the final draft guidelines of the NSG were adopted in 1977.

The NSG guidelines promoted nuclear cooperation under sound non-proliferation arrangements. For Trigger List exports, the NSG guidelines required an agreement between the IAEA and the recipient state, requiring the application of safeguards on all fissionable materials - also termed as full-scope safeguards, physical protection against unauthorised use of transferred material and facilities, restraint in the transfer of sensitive facilities, technology,

Gandhi was not in a political position to ignore the sentiments of the pro-bomb lobby in the military, bureaucracy of the Parliament and within the scientific infrastructure. Frank T. J. Bray and Michael L. Moodie, 'Nuclear Politics in India', *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1977, pp. 111-116, see p. 114. Peter R. Lavoy, 'The Indian and Pakistani Nuclear Programmes: A Race to Oblivion?', in Raju G. C. Thomas eds., *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: Prospects for the 21st Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), p. 275.

[43] Named after its first Chairman Prof Clause Zangger, the committee was formed after the NPT came into force in 1971 to serve as the 'faithful interpreter' of its Article III, paragraph 2, to harmonise the interpretation of nuclear export control policies for NPT parties.

[44] Ian Anthony, Christer Ahlstrom, and Vitaly Fedchenko, *Reforming Nuclear Export Controls: The Future of the Nuclear Suppliers Group*, SIPRI Research Report No. 22 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 17.

and weapons-usable materials.[45] These strict guidelines were adopted with a view that without strengthened controls, nuclear trade for peaceful purposes could become politically unacceptable.[46]

While Canada and France withdrew from the cooperative arrangements with India to demonstrate disapproval of the PNE,[47] the US decided to take concrete steps so as to prevent such an event occurring again with another NNWS. The Ford and Carter administrations tightened the US nuclear export controls by giving shape to a policy based on denial of access to technology. The 1976 and 1977, Symington and Glenn Amendments were passed by Congress to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which prohibited American economic and military aid to countries attempting to acquire reprocessing and enrichment capabilities for weapons purposes.[48] These acts widened the US non-proliferation policy and brought into ambit even those countries that did not have any sort of nuclear cooperation with the United States. In order to ensure that countries that were of proliferation concern to the US did not embark on such programmes, a threat to discontinue military and economic assistance was employed. The Symington and Glenn amendments thus banned all high-technology sales, including non-nuclear items that might be seen as contributing to the recalcitrant state's potential of weapons related capabilities.[49]

However, the most significant non-proliferation policy was the US Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act (NNPA) passed by the Congress in 1978. Fundamentally, the NNPA had a major impact on US nuclear export control as it stated that the recipient states should have full-scope

[45] 'Trigger List', so called because exports of such material triggers the requirement of safeguards. For more on this see, 'Export of nuclear equipment, material and technology: 'Trigger List' requirements', 14 August 2012, https://www.gov.uk/guidance/export-of-nuclear-equipment-material-and-technology-trigger-list-requirements (Accessed on 25/09/15).
[46] 'Nuclear Suppliers Group', http://www.fas.org/nuke/control/nsg/ (Accessed on 06/07/13).
[47] Canada withdrew from a joint cooperative agreement with India for the construction of two PHWRs at Rajasthan Atomic Power Station (RAPS). France withdrew from the joint agreement to construct Fast Breeder Test Reactor (FBTR). As a result the construction and operation of these reactors was considerably delayed.
[48] Sumit Ganguly, 'Should India Sign the NPT/CTBT?', in Thomas eds., *The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: Prospects for the 21st Century*, p. 288.
[49] Brahma Chellaney, *Nuclear Proliferation: The US-Indian Conflict* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1993), p. 73.

safeguards in place in compliance with the requirements of NPT and IAEA. Supplier states would have to agree not to transfer sensitive nuclear technologies, such as uranium enrichment and spent fuel reprocessing.[50] The NNPA created a multi-layered governmental decision making body as it distributed the decisional authority for nuclear export related matters among the executive, the legislature and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). The policy statement of the act identified nuclear proliferation to be a grave national security threat to the United States, and stated 'the imperative need' to strengthen international controls and safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities.[51]

It is clear from the above discussion that the NPT gave impetus to further technology transfer restrictions in the US law following the India nuclear test, thus deepening the tensions between the two counties. It is thus imperative to understand how narrative identity contributed to this discord.

From 'scientifically handicapped' to 'economically backward': Changing images of India with the first major rift caused by the NPT (1965-1980)

Whereas previously, scientific assistance was justified in terms of aiding development of a 'scientifically handicapped' country, the trope 'technical backwardness' was now increasingly used in conjunction with the technical inability of India to sustain a wide-scale nuclear weapons programme and the risks that come along with it. Therefore, the signing and ratification of the NPT by India was deemed to be non-debatable. The representation of the 'other' as 'technically backward' was crucial in this period, because progressive scientific ability was the main criterion that framed the US as a progressive and civilised country that could ideally retain weapons whilst promoting non-proliferation as a global ideal. Thus representations of India as the 'other' in this period worked towards creating and sustaining a demarcation between the

[50] Sharon Squassoni, 'Looking Back: 1978 Nuclear Nonproliferation Act', *Arms Control Today*, December 2008, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2008_12/lookingback_NPT (Accessed on 08/07/13).
[51] Chellaney, *Nuclear Proliferation*, p. 78.

'technically advanced' and the 'technically backward' countries. Various descriptions like 'technical backwardness', 'primitive nuclear devices', 'rudimentary' technical capabilities and 'beginners' were utilised to portray Indian scientific capacity in the nuclear realm to argue that it was absolutely impossible for India to enter the nuclear weapons realm.[52] For instance, a Department of State Intelligence Report published on 14 January 1972 declared:

> By entering the nuclear club, India would gain the satisfaction of demonstrating its scientific and technical progress. However, India is years away from developing a credible nuclear deterrent against the only prospective enemy with a nuclear capability – China. India has no delivery system capable of posing a threat to targets in northern and eastern China. Its present bomber inventory is not up to the task, and a strategic missile system would take 5-8 years to develop. Soviet assistance in this program would be foreclosed by the NPT'.[53]

Such descriptions of India stood in stark contrast to the descriptions of other Western nations that collaborated with India in the nuclear domain. Although intensely secretive, Indian scientists had managed to develop plutonium reprocessing capabilities and weapons technology by the early 1970s. Canadian observers, who collaborated with the US in discouraging India from going nuclear and suggested that they should join the NPT, noted that Indian nuclear scientists were capable of combining 'guile' with 'technical proficiency' and that they could have 'easily misled' the US and other pro-NPT nations.[54] The negligence of these alternative narrative frameworks within a discursive economy indicated an operation of power wherein actors in the US sought to reinstate the technically advanced/technically incapable dichotomy to maintain a difference from the 'other'.

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[52] 'Indian Nuclear Intentions', Department of State, 9 March 1972, p. 2, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb367/docs/3-9-72.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13). 'Indian Nuclear Intentions', Department of State Telegram, 26 July 1972, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb367/docs/7-26-72.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13). 'India Nuclear Developments and Their Likely Implications', Declassified Report, Department of State, 3 August 1972, http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb367/d298.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13).

[53] 'India to go Nuclear?', Intelligence Note, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, 14 January 1972, pp. 5-6, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb367/docs/1-14-72.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13).

[54] Quoted in Sandeep Dikshit, 'US was caught on the wrong foot in 1974 too', *The Hindu*, 7 December 2011, http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/us-was-caught-on-the-wrong-foot-in-1974-too/article2692819.ece (Accessed on 14/10/13).

Secondly, the distinction between the North as 'developed' and the South as 'underdeveloped' was maintained when effects of the Indian nuclear tests were discussed in the context of nuclear proliferation. A declassified governmental report published by the Department of State in August 1972 on Indian nuclear development, stated:

> A successful Indian test would of course set back the cause of nuclear non-proliferation. India would have demonstrated that it is feasible even for an underdeveloped non-authoritarian country with limited natural and financial resources, to develop an independent nuclear capability.[55]

The decision to test along with the development of 'rudimentary' nuclear weapons by an 'underdeveloped' country also entailed that as opposed to security reasons these decisions were taken to address the issues of 'prestige' in the third world, 'chauvinism', 'psychological boost', and a 'boost to sagging Indian morale in face of increasing domestic economic problems and political discontent'.[56] A letter from US Embassy in New Delhi to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in May 1974 noted:

> We believe that the decision will appeal to nationalist feeling and will be widely welcomed by the Indian populace. It remains to be seen to what extent the government will succeed in translating this feeling into tangible political returns. Government will also be tempted to seize on international backlash, condemnation and retribution to appeal for its own domestic purposes to chauvinist feeling at home. The picture of a government embattled and standing up to foreign abuse could be quite useful to the Indian leadership today.[57]

Similarly, US Ambassador to India from 1973-1975, Daniel Patrick Moynihan remarked in May 1974:

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[55] 'India Nuclear Developments and their Likely Implications', Declassified Report, p. 13.
[56] 'Special National Intelligence Estimate: Prospects for Further Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons', no. 157, 23 August 1974, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb367/docs/snie%208-74.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13). 'The Further Spread of Nuclear Weapons: Problems for the West', Department of State, Policy Planning Council, 14 February 1966, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb253/doc01.pdf (Accessed on 01/07/13). 'FM Embassy New Delhi to Secretary Washington D.C.', May 74, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb367/docs/5-18-74%20embassy.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13). 'India to go Nuclear?', Intelligence Note, 14 January 1972. Ray S. Clint, 'Prospects of an Indian Nuclear Test', The Director of Intelligence and Research, 10 February 1972, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb367/docs/2-23-72.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13). 'Assessment of India Nuclear Test', Department of State, 5 June 1974, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/IN20.pdf (Accessed on 06/06/13).
[57] 'FM Embassy New Delhi to Secretary Washington D.C.', May 74, p. 3.

> The capitalist press seem to have got into the idea that the bomb was set off to raise morale in a period of domestic depression and crises. To some extent that was undoubtedly the government's intention; in any case it seems to have had that effect. The initial reaction here was what may be described as jubilation tinged with some of the less agreeable traits often ascribed to Indians. Any country would be proud of the accomplishment, particularly a nation that is fond of thinking of itself as the leader of the third world, and any government seeking to reinstate a measure of national progress in an otherwise dismal situation might be expected to consider such a step.[58]

The narrative of economic progress of the world that framed America as an economically 'developed' nation during the implementation of Atoms for Peace was reutilised at this juncture. India was framed as an economically 'poor' and 'underdeveloped' country which would face significant repercussions in terms of 'economic downturn' and adverse effects on 'economic aid' if weapons were tested and a nuclear weapons programme was initiated.[59] Furthermore, weaponisation did not make sense as the economic atmosphere for the 'middle' and 'lower' classes in country was particularly worrisome. Moreover, India was facing 'acute budget stringencies' and strikes in public and private industry.[60] The invocation of 'deepening economic problems' along with the 'third world' nation seeking to address an otherwise dismal domestic economic predicament through nuclear tests and weaponisation enabled the actors to continue with a developed/developing distinction which framed US a first world and a capitalist nation. Robbie Shilliam notes, it is only in the Western context that the knowledge of modernity has been developed. The fundamental assumption then is that imperialism has from the start been a co-constitutive process of the typical understood routes into modernity, namely the development of the capitalist world market and the system of states. A political community would be judged civilised and hence sovereign by this standard if it met two requisites: one material – a technologically advanced economy – and one politico-ideological – a tradition of

[58] 'Department of State Cable 109189 to U.S. Consulate Jerusalem', 24 May 1974, p. 3, http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB188/AAD-3.pdf (Accessed on 01/10/13).
[59] 'Indira Gandhi Wants to Keep India's Option Open', US Embassy New Delhi Airgram A-540 Department of State, 'Canadians Warn GOI on NPT', 12 December 1967, pp. 2-3, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb253/doc07.pdf (Accessed on 02/07/13).
[60] India's Nuclear Intentions', Department of State Telegram, 19 January 1974, p. 6, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb367/docs/1-19-74.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13). 'India Nuclear Developments and their Likely Implications', Declassified Report, 3 August 1972. 'FM Embassy New Delhi to Secretary Washington D.C.,' May 74.

individual rights to persons and property.[61] The technological inferiority of India thus easily translated into interpretations of political economy when debating the practical needs of India as the 'other' that could only benefit from giving up the weaponisation option for economic reasons. India as the 'other' lacked requisite qualities in terms of civilisation unlike the capitalist United States. The potential discrepancy between the self and the other in terms of modernity therefore effectuated radical otherness.

The counter-narratives of Indian actors sought to focus on the NPT. First, it was claimed that the NPT created two classes of states, the NWS and the NNWS, and secondly while the NNWS had to abide by the legal framework of safeguards in order to get access to nuclear technology, the NWS had no such explicit commitment to make and could freely continue with their weapons development. The counter-narrative of India was therefore framed around the discourse of 'discrimination', which sought to resist the status of the inferior 'other'.[62] In April 1967, in a meeting with the US Secretary of Defense, L.K. Jha, the Secretary of the Indian Cabinet illustrated this counter-narrative as he noted that NPT was a 'rough treaty' – i.e., strongly discriminatory against the non-nuclear weapons states.[63] In the same meeting, Dr. Sarabhai argued that the NPT is often spoken of as a 'first step' toward disarmament, but India did not see anything beyond the NPT, for example, any indication that the USSR or the US intend to slow down the growth of their own nuclear weapons and delivery systems. Sarabhai reiterated that NPT 'compounds the asymmetry of the power balance, and makes the treaty very difficult to sell'.[64] One of the Indian delegates during the Eighteen Nation Disarmament

[61] Robbie Shilliam, 'Non-Western thought and international relations', in Robbie Shilliam eds., *International Relations and Non-Western Thoughts: Imperialism Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-11, see pp. 4-5.
[62] 'Indian Nuclear Policies in the 1980s', National Foreign Assessment Center, Central Intelligence Agency, 10 September 1981, http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/IN28.pdf (Accessed on 07/06/13). For more on this see, Anupam Srivastava and Seema Gahlaut, 'India and the NPT: Separating Substantive facts from Normative Fiction', in Rajiv Nayan eds., *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and India* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 99-111.
[63] 'Meeting between the Secretary of Defense and Mr. L. K. Jha, Tuesday, April 18 at 10 am', 25 April 1967, p. 2.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Committee (ENDC) negotiations declared that the NPT was analogous to the case of a 17th century Indian emperor who banned drinking while being a drunkard.[65] The reference to India's past referred to the injustice perpetuated by the NPT as symptomatic of the form of injustice experienced by India during colonisation. Thus the famous term coined by India for NPT was 'nuclear apartheid'.[66] The term 'nuclear apartheid' located the nuclear debate within a wider colonial narrative, which equated the nuclear order as proposed by the US to British colonisation. This narrative created a unique postcolonial identity for India. Later on, graphic terms were used in support of this identity such as claiming that joining the NPT would be akin to 'committing political suicide' and that 'India would never give up an iota of its hard-fought independence by signing the NPT'.[67]

It is important to consider here that the discursive identity formation took place within an intersubjective environment. Thus Indian elites' counter-narratives incorporated Western narratives into an anti-NPT discourse. The objection to the NPT was strongly based on the narrative of 'sovereignty' and 'equality', which were the strongest discursive concepts at the time and still are in the Western conception of the 'self'. Accession to the NPT was considered by India to be an 'infringement of national sovereignty', the infringement of the sovereign right of 'self-defence' as embodied in the article 51 of the UN Charter and thereby a violation of the principle of 'sovereign equality for all states'.[68] In this context, Shilliam notes, non-Western thought can never be lost sight of because non-Western thought must be approached as parts

[65] Cited in Weiss, 'India and the NPT', *Strategic Analysis*, p. 260.
[66] Andrew B. Kennedy, 'India's Nuclear Odyssey: Implicit Umbrellas, Diplomatic Disappointments, and the Bomb', *International Security*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2011, pp. 120-153, see p. 128. Also see, Sumit Ganguly, 'India's Pathway to Pokhran II: The Prospects and Sources of New Delhi's Nuclear Weapons Program', *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 4, 1999, pp. 148-177, see p. 156. For a good discussion of the NPT Articles see, Jeffrey W. Knopf, 'Nuclear Disarmament and Nonproliferation: Examining the Linkage Argument', *International Security*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2012, pp. 92-132.
[67] 'Conversation with Senior GOI Nuclear Official', 7 May 1968, Embassy New Delhi Telegram, Central files of the Department of State, Record Group 59, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB6/docs/doc17.pdf (Accessed on 12/06/13). 'Indira Gandhi Wants to Keep India's Option Open', 12 December 1967.
[68] 'Indira Gandhi Wants to Keep India's Option Open', 12 December 1967. 'India Wants a Complete Freeze on Current Postures of Nuclear Powers', US Mission to Geneva Cable 3048 to State Department, 3 April 1968, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb253/doc14.pdf (Accessed on 02/07/13). Duane Bratt, *The Politics of Candu Exports* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), p. 31.

of a relation of a process of domination. The non-western actors, rather than assimilate the message, have just as much copied the script – out of command, necessity, pre-emption or inventiveness – into existing narratives for pragmatic, political and/or ethical purposes. When engaging with non-Western thought, it is therefore important to recognise the creative agency that has been deployed in order to construct understandings of an imperially and colonially induced modernity.[69] The invocation of 'infringement' of national sovereignty and 'nuclear apartheid' through the NPT created alternative representations of social relations through which the Indian self as a rising power could be reproduced.

Indian objections with regard to the safeguards and complacency towards the NPT were also framed in gender terms as the successive US administrations' officials sought to undo the link between 'America' and the 'Colonial Empire'. For instance, India's objections were varyingly termed as 'close minded', 'emotional', 'irrational' and laden with 'vanity'.[70] A US Embassy Air Gram proposed changing India's stance by making highly influential Dr. Sarabhai understand his irrational position as it notes:

> One of Sarabhai's main weaknesses is his vanity. We wonder if it might be worthwhile inviting him during his next trip abroad to stop in Geneva (and perhaps Washington) for the "full treatment" by Ambassador Foster and his associates. Conceivably his emotional and somewhat irrational position on NPT might be modified by such an exposure.[71]

Once again, India was represented in feminine terms where the decision of not joining the NPT was attributed to the quality of 'irrationality'. This was in continuation with previous such instance, as explored above, with regard to Indian proposals in the realm of disarmament. Furthermore, it is crucial to note here that, India's quest to be a major power was rearticulated

[69] Robbie Shilliam, 'The perilous but unavoidable terrain of the non-West', in Robbie Shilliam eds., *International Relations and Non-Western Thoughts*, pp. 12-26, see p. 19.
[70] John Kennedy, 'Letter to the Ambassador', New Delhi, April 1964, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB94/tb30.pdf (Accessed on 01/10/13). 'Indira Gandhi Wants to Keep India's Option Open', 12 December 1967.
[71] 'Indira Gandhi Wants to Keep India's Option Open', 12 December 1967.

in various speeches. However, these narratives maintained the great power identity of the US. For instance, Richard Nixon reminded India in 1973:

> Every major power – now including India, with its new power in the region – has a basic responsibility toward the international system to exercise its power with restraint.

He also called to attention the disparity in power between India and the US adding further:

> United States policies globally and regionally will support the independence of South Asian nations…This is our responsibility as a great power…[72]

The inability of the 'other' to exercise restraint in the nuclear domain was largely depicted as an irresponsible attribute, set in contrast to US global nuclear policies that were a result of 'responsible' character specifically attributable to a great power. Thus, the great power/rising power dichotomy was upheld in the politics of maintaining a difference with invocation of masculinities underscored by manliness and patriarch fatherhood. The United States was 'rational' and 'responsible' and therefore had the special duty to oversee the development and implementation of non-proliferation regimes. Thus the inalienable role of US in shaping and preserving the global nuclear order through the NPT, NSG and NNPA came to be increasingly justified.

The discord between US-India relations in the nuclear domain during this period and the subsequent US policy towards India can be attributed to self-interpretation. The narrative explorations of the 'self' as opposed to the 'other' co-constituted foreign policies of both the US and India through which their respective identities came to be legitimised. The nuclear discord continued in the period from 1981-1992 as examined below.

[72] Richard Nixon, US Foreign Policy for the 1970s: Shaping a Durable Peace, A Report to Congress, 9 February 1972 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 577-85, cited in Baldev Raj Nayar and T.V. Paul, *India in the World Order: Searching for Major-Power Status* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2003), p. 184.

The politics of Arms Control and representations of India (1981-1992)

This section demonstrates an increasing use of spatial terminologies in terms of 'West' and 'East', 'First World' and 'Third World' within the narrative of economic progress through which the technological, democratic and economic potential of the 'other' came to be identified subsequently constituting US nuclear foreign policy options vis-à-vis India.

Background to the discursive events

The dispute over Tarapur had begun even before the NNPA came into existence. After the Indian PNE the domestic political climate had changed and with it the US legislation. The 1963 Tarapur agreement was characterised as 'unique' among US bilateral agreements as it provided for the exclusive use of US fuel in Tarapur reactors in exchange of guaranteed supply of fuel for the tenure of 30 years or until 1993.[73] The Indian PNE, in essence, did not 'overtly and plainly violate the letter of agreement',[74] however, it did give birth to the debate of whether the US should pursue non-proliferation through present agreements or unilaterally change the terms of the agreements making it more conducive to the non-proliferation objectives. Seeing the Indian vulnerability due to its dependence on the low enriched uranium (LEU), the US proceeded to demand full-scope safeguards on all Indian nuclear facilities before it could resume the fuel supply. New Delhi declared that US suspension of fuel supply was tantamount to unilateral abrogation of the agreement. India threatened retaliation to any US breach of the original contract by asserting that such an action would free the Tarapur reactors and spent fuel from the IAEA safeguards, bringing them under the full remit of India.[75] To avoid this from happening, as permitted by the NNPA, President Carter issued an export license allowing two more additional fuel shipments in order to buy more time for negotiations and get over the deadlock. The Executive Order 12055 passed on 27 April 1978 subsequently approved export

[73] A.G. Noorani, 'Indo-US Nuclear Relations', *Asian Survey*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1981, pp. 399-416, p. 401.
[74] Brahma Chellaney, *Nuclear Proliferation*, p. 46.
[75] Mitchell Reiss, *Bridled Ambition: Why Countries Constrain Their Nuclear Capabilities* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 200.

of nuclear material to India.[76] However it became clear that a license would not be approved in the future.[77] While the negotiations were undertaken, the dispute over fuel supply persisted well into the Reagan administration. It was only in July 1982, shortly before Mrs. Indira Gandhi's official visit to the US, that a mutual solution to the problem was found. The responsibility for supplying fuel to the TAPS was assumed by France with safeguards applicable only to the Tarapur fuel and reactors instead of comprehensive full-scope safeguards.[78] Thus, the US ended all nuclear trade with India in the year 1982 and simultaneously chose to maintain an international pressure so as to hinder developments in the weapons programme.

The Soviet Union and the United States began Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) in the late 1960s and in 1972 signed a treaty limiting antiballistic missiles (ABMs) and reached an interim accord limiting intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). In 1982 the United States and the Soviet Union began a new set of negotiations, called START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty). In 1987, President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev signed the INF (Intermediate Nuclear Forces) treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear weapons. The START treaty, signed by President George H.W. Bush and Gorbachev in 1991, called for additional reductions in the US and the Soviet nuclear arsenals and on-site inspections.[79] As a culmination of these arms control measures, Gorbachev declared a unilateral moratorium on Soviet nuclear weapons testing. This forced the George H. W. Bush administration to examine whether the US needed to continue nuclear weapons tests. In 1992, the President declared a US

[76] 'Executive Order 12055 – Export of Special Nuclear Material to India', 27 April 1978, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=30713 (Accessed on 25/09/15).
[77] Christopher van Hollen, 'Mrs Gandhi, The General, and the Bomb', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp, 157-162, p. 158.
[78] Rodney W. Jones, 'Dealing with the Problem Countries', *Society*, September/October 1983, vol. 20, no. 6, pp. 43-47. France supplied the fuel for Tarapur reactors until 1993 when it joined NPT in 1992. Thereafter the US and India agreed to find an alternative source for the fuel. China took over the responsibility for supplying the fuel and it did not press India to accept comprehensive safeguards as a precondition for nuclear-related sales. This responsibility was taken over by Russia in 2006.
[79] 'US-Russian Nuclear Arms Control Agreements at a Glance', *Arms Control Association*, 1 April 2014, https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/USRussiaNuclearAgreementsMarch2010 (Accessed on 26/03/15).

moratorium on nuclear weapons testing.[80] Thus India faced embargoes on missile technology from 1987 onwards and after the advent of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), as the general policy thrust for non-proliferation intensified during both Reagan and Bush administrations.[81]

The politics of arms control and the spatial dimensions to technological, democratic, and economic identity of the 'other' (1981-1992)

The tropes from the narrative of economic progress of the world that logically framed 'America' as a developed and affluent nation situated in the western hemisphere were utilised through incorporation of tropes from the two other narratives of scientific assistance and democracy. Significant attention was paid to the geopolitical distinction between the West versus the Rest, and the 'Third world' as opposed to the 'First world' when addressing India and its nuclear problem. An Intelligence Assessment report on Indian nuclear policies in the 1980s reaffirmed that any resumption of nuclear testing by India will not only damage relations with the United States but risks a cut-off of nuclear equipment and material from the 'West'. The discursive opposition of the Third World versus the First World was invoked as the report specified that 'India was successful in persuading several NPT signatories from the Third World – most notably Mexico and Peru – to voice dissatisfaction with the lack of movement by the superpowers on Article VI'.[82] This distinction was maintained as another report asserted that India through technological prowess was searching for 'respect in the Third World'.[83] Such evaluations made through the Foreign Policy texts reinstated the dichotomous narrative

[80] US Nuclear Weapons Testing Moratorium, Singed: 1992, Passed: 1992, Senate Vote: 55-40.
[81] Stephen P. Cohen, 'India and America: An Emerging Relationship', A Paper Presented to the Conference on the Nation-State System and Transnational Forces in South Asia, 8-10 December 2000, p. 9. The MTCR was originally established in 1987 by Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States. Since that time, the number of MTCR partners has increased to a total of thirty-four countries, all of which have equal standing within the Regime. See, 'Missile Technology Control Regime', http://www.mtcr.info/english/index.html (Accessed on 25/09/15).
[82] 'Indian Nuclear Policies in the 1980s', National Foreign Assessment Center, Central Intelligence Agency, 10 September 1981, p. 4, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/IN28.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13).
[83] 'India and the Tarapur Dispute', Department of State, 23 July 1982, p. 2, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/IN31.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13).

between East and West, North and South, which played a crucial role in maintaining the distinct politico-economic identity of the US. The distinction between developed/developing was also further utilised in gender terms as it was ascertained that India should take 'pragmatic' as opposed to emotional decisions on arms control. The 1982 National Security Agency report when evaluating the Tarapur issue noted:

> Also in keeping with its independent posture, India has strongly opposed the safeguards provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, viewing it both as an affront to its own national sovereignty and as discriminatory toward the developing nations in general. Despite these reservations, India has had to be pragmatic and place its first two PHWR's under safeguards because of its pressing need for electricity and the failure of its heavy water program. Nevertheless, India remains determined to maintain its independence and keep many of its future facilities as possible free from safeguards.[84]

Thus India's compliance with the non-proliferation and safeguards was termed as 'pragmatic' and 'rational' whilst its recalcitrance was framed as irrational and emotional engendering the difference between the 'masculine' self and the 'feminine' other.

The practice of narrative contestation that frame a particular shared meaning within which identity is constituted is necessarily an iterative process whereby some identity frames achieve preponderance over other ways of framing the 'self'. Consequently Foreign Policy analysis needs to focus on these political contests over constructions of identity and meaning.[85] The framing of developing India as the 'other' in gendered terms was, therefore, not a straightforward process but entailed significant intra-departmental deliberation. For instance, the Ford administration sought to promote non-proliferation through existing accords. General Ford's policy saw the existential need of controlling the spread of plutonium and the technologies for separating plutonium.[86] Towards this end, Myron Kratzer of the State Department regretted the Indian test, but argued that a failure to supply the fuel would culminate in the US losing influence over Tarapur safeguards as well as the future course of

[84] 'India's Heavy Water Shortages', National Security Agency, October 1982, p. 2, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB187/IN32.pdf (Accessed on 30/09/13).
[85] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 54.
[86] Noorani, 'Indo-US Nuclear Relations', p. 405.

Indian nuclear policy.[87] It was ascertained that the US should maintain its obligation under the original 1963 Tarapur agreement and remain a 'reliable supplier' for the LEU. Therefore, in June 1974 the first of the five-year shipment of LEU scheduled for the period between 15 June 1974 and 1 April 1975 was delivered without any hitches.[88] Those against the Tarapur agreement objected to the length of the agreement and its inability to deal with developments during its term. As Senators Glenn, Percy, and Ribicoff proclaimed before the Joint Committee in 1976:

> Because these agreements for cooperation remain in effect for 30 to 40 years, and do not contain formal provisions for renegotiation, we feel strongly that it would be highly irresponsible for the United States to rely solely upon the conditions and circumstances that existed when an agreement for cooperation was originally negotiated in determining whether or not a current application for a specific export pursuant to the agreement is inimical to the common defence and security.[89]

Thus in the narrative competition of framing the self as 'reliable' or 'responsible', it is evident that the latter way of defining the self attained a hegemonic status as self-interpretation was increasingly tied to the global nuclear order for which the 'self' retained the optimum responsibility.

Yet again India's democratic credentials were invoked amidst the Tarapur dispute, but firmly placed the 'other' in the developing world. President Reagan remarked in a State Dinner hosted in honour of PM Indira Gandhi on 29 July 1982:

> India's experience since independence exemplifies the gathering strength of the democratic revolution. And India stands in eloquent refutation of all those who argue that democratic institutions are not equal to the task of dealing with today's problems, or are irrelevant to the needs of today's developing nations. For these reasons, India serves as a beacon not only to developing nations which seek to emulate its experience but to all of us who seek renewal of our faith in democracy.[90]

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[87] *Washington Post*, 19 and 22 July 1976, cited in Dennis Kux, *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies 1941-1991* (Washington D.C.: National Defence University Press, 1992), p. 340.
[88] Noorani, 'Indo-US Nuclear Relations', p. 404.
[89] Joint testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy re: S. 1439, Export Reorganization Act, 1976, 28 July and 31 August 1976, Vol. II, pp. 35-36, cited in Noorani, 'Indo-US Nuclear Relations', p. 405.
[90] 'Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India at the State Dinner', 29 July 1982, http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1982/72982b.htm (Accessed on 19/10/13).

It is important to note that the firm dichotomy of 'developed' and 'developing' world was reintroduced here. This narrative worked on two levels: first, it satisfied India's quest to be recognised as a major power through the narrative of democracy; and second, it re-established the dichotomy between India as 'underdeveloped' and US as a 'developed' nation, in spite of their common background as democracies. This necessarily entailed different roles in a global nuclear order.

The comparisons between US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence, where the latter was considered to be at a disadvantage, gained prominence as a narrative during this period in response to the growing nuclear tensions between India and Pakistan. The developed/developing dichotomy in spatial dimensions was also increasingly utilised through this narrative. The politics of nuclear arms control in the 1980s was largely framed in discursive terms of controlling the spread of nuclear weapons in the 'troubled area' of South Asia, problems between the two 'unstable' nuclear powers (India and Pakistan), and that these two states were technologically 'too weak' to prevent a war if it escalated to the nuclear level. An assessment report sent from the Director of Intelligence Hugh Montgomery to Ambassador Ronald I Spiers in February 1984 elaborated:

> A situation where both sides had nuclear weapons might provide stability by a 'balance of terror,' but the risk of nuclear war by miscalculation under South Asian conditions would seem to outweigh the attraction of such stability. The situation would upset the nuclear balance not only in South Asia but also on a broader scale.[91]

Apart from the disadvantages in geography and technology, from the cost point of view it was ascertained that India and Pakistan would never be able to maintain an arms race as superpowers have been able to. For instance, Montgomery asserted:

[91] Hugh Montgomery, 'India, Pakistan and Nuclear Proliferation', Department of State, 17 February 1984, p. ii, https://s3.amazonaws.com/s3.documentcloud.org/documents/347037/doc-18-2-17-84-inr-report.pdf (Accessed on 01/10/13).

> …unless India is prepared to remain a permanently second-class nuclear power (and thus potentially vulnerable), the costs will be staggering, as the continuing arms race between the US and the USSR bears witness.[92]

In this manner, India's limited economic capacity to support such a programme was brought into the picture, which entailed that non-proliferation was the only logical goal for the subcontinent. In these Foreign Policy texts, the US role in India-Pakistan nuclear dynamics was described as that of an honest broker concerned with the management of nuclear stability.

Like past instances, the portrayal of India as the 'other' was challenged through counter-narratives of Indian actors. In arms control measures, for instance, Rajiv Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India, declared in 1985 that '[f]or nation-building, the first requisite is peace - peace with our neighbours and peace with the world…' and thus *we* will continue the 'relentless crusade against the arms race'.[93] The action plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons was a part of this aim.[94] However, for Rajiv Gandhi unlike the US, *nuclear proliferation* was a 'global' and not a 'regional' issue, and therefore, the US strategy of tackling the regional nuclear problem was considered as counter-intuitive to what was essentially required.[95] In this regard, US attempts to negotiate safeguards on Indian facilities through the Tarapur negotiations and international arms control were framed as colonial subjugation of a

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[93] Rajiv Gandhi, broadcast to the nation, 12 November 1984, in *Rajiv Gandhi: Selected Speeches and Writings*, vol. 1, 31 October 1984 - 31 December 1985 (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1987), p. 5, cited in George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 263.

[94] Parallel to the superpower's arms control efforts, India initiated its own sets of disarmament measures. Leonard Weiss suggests a dual strategy of working on weapons and promoting of disarmament was introduced. While publicly India called for nuclear disarmament, it also simultaneously countered all the pressures from the US and the NPT signatories to abide by any explicit disarmament norms. The workings of this dual strategy were observed in Rajiv Gandhi's June 1988 proposal of 'Action Plan for Total Elimination of Weapons of Mass Destruction' before the United National General Assembly (UNGA). While the plan proposed a time-bound elimination of nuclear weapons to reach a global 'zero', about the same time Indian scientists achieved the ability to fully assemble nuclear weapons for the first time. Weiss notes, this proposal which was forcing the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) to adhere to a particular timetable was a 'deft' counter to the pressures on India to sign the NPT and accept the full-scope safeguards. India rejected all the appeals of United States to refrain from developing missiles in the period of 1989 and after. In this manner the deadlock over nuclear issued continued until the advent of the Clinton administration. See, Leonard Weiss, 'India and the NPT', p. 262. For similar a discussion also see, Devin T. Hagerty, 'The Nuclear Holdouts: India, Israel, and Pakistan', in Tanya Ogilvie-White and David Santoro, *Slaying the Nuclear Dragon: Disarmament Dynamics in the Twenty-First Century* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2012), pp. 222-223.

[95] Anon, *By Passing the Nuclear Divide*, http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/1312/11/11_chapter%205.pdf (Accessed on 15/10/13).

postcolonial nation. The Indian Atomic Energy Commission chairman Raja Ramana framed the non-proliferation regime within the discourse of race and colonialism as he declared:

> We are all used to white people having a low opinion of us and I can see how jealous some of them become when we achieve total independence in our nuclear requirement.[96]

Another strategic analyst K. Subrahmanyam who participated in number of UN disarmament studies revealed that racial sensibility was at the heart of India's resistance. He remarked: 'What the world needs is for blacks in America to become 51 per cent of the population', further adding, 'then you will get rid of your nuclear weapons the next day, as South Africa has prepared to do'.[97] The regional focus on arms control, by this instance, was considered to be an out-dated mode of tackling non-proliferation. Thus the dominant narrative focus on Tarapur and India-Pakistan deterrence was countered through the narrative of racial and colonial subjugation, which subsequently justified India's position of condemning the NPT. Furthermore, in a direct challenge to Reagan's assessment of Indian democratic duties, Rajiv Gandhi framed the nuclear development as an attempt to technologically develop India. On the successful launch of the Agni missile in May 1989, he noted; 'technological backwardness also leads to subjugation. Never again will we allow our freedom to be compromised'.[98] The links between 'democracy' and 'freedom' were replaced with 'technological advancement' and 'freedom'. Reference to the past was thus made to reassert India's need for technological innovation in order to maintain its freedom.

George Perkovich notes that Washington at this juncture was trying to recognise Indian sensitivities and deal with India as a rising power. The Bush administration was concerned about proliferation, but concluded that the best way to sustain India's interest in constraining

[96] *Indian Express*, 11 September 1986, cited in Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 286.
[97] K. Subrahmanyam, interview by author, September 1992, New Delhi, cited in Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 332.
[98] Rajiv Gandhi, statement on the Agni launch, 22 May 1989, in *Rajiv Gandhi: Selected Speeches and Writings*, 1989, vol. 5 (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India, 1991), p. 139, cited in Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 301.

its nuclear programme was to build a broader and more positive relationship. Thus by October 1992 the United States partially eased the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) sanctions and allowed shipment to India of supplies that had been in the pipeline prior to the imposition of sanctions.[99] Although such considerations were evident, the overall policy vis-à-vis India that insisted on halting the production of fissile material and negotiating an India-Pakistan bilateral agreement remained non-negotiable. Despite the counter-narratives of Indian actors, the narrative of India-Pakistan nuclear instability retained dominance within Washington. For example, during the 1990 Kashmir crisis, one former senior official of the Bush administration proclaimed that Indian and Pakistani leaders 'were not acting with sufficient sobriety. There was a little bit of recklessness in the air'.[100] In judging the deterrence stability of the 'other', the narrative increasingly focused on crisis 'spinning out of control' within a backdrop of nuclear weapons or that India and Pakistan were 'too weak to stop a war'.[101] The effect of identity/difference in terms of 'self' as strong, sober, and stable and 'other' as reckless, weak, and unstable was evident in policy constitution as the National Security Strategy documents of March 1990 and August 1991 proposed 'Indo-Pakistani rapprochement and a halt to nuclear proliferation', and 'Indo-Pakistani confidence building measures and other steps to moderate military competition', respectively.[102]

From the above discussion it is evident that the narrative of economic progress was aptly employed to address the 'other' through which the US nuclear policies with regard to nuclear

[99] George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, p. 329.
[100] Interview with U.S. intelligence analyst, 1994, cited in Devin T. Hagerty, 'Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: The 1990 Indo-Pakistani Crisis', *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 3, Winter 1995/1996. pp. 79-114, see p. 106. In 1990, the escalating war between Indian security forces and Kashmiri militants radically transformed India-Pakistan relations by bringing the two governments close to war for the first time since the Bangladesh war of 1971. For more on this see Devin T. Hagerty, 'Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: the 1990 Indo-Pakistani Crisis', p. 94.
[101] Interview with U.S. intelligence analyst, 1994. Statement by Deputy National Security Advisor Robert Gates, cited in Seymour M. Hersh, 'On Nuclear Edge', *The New Yorker*, 29 March 1993, http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1993/03/29/on-the-nuclear-edge (Accessed on 18/09/13).
[102] National Security Strategy of the United States, George H. W. Bush Administration, The White House, March 1990, p. 13, http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1990.pdf (Accessed on 15/03/15). National Security Strategy of the United States, George H. W. Bush Administration, The White House, August 1991, p.10, http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1991.pdf (Accessed on 15/03/15).

fuel supplies for Tarapur came to be constituted. However, due to the new situation on the subcontinent wherein India-Pakistan deterrence was now a cause for concern, a new narrative that utilised economic and technological comparisons between US-Soviet Union deterrence stability and India-Pakistan deterrence instability also attained significance through which US nuclear policies came to be constituted in the early 1990s.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the continuation of principal narratives as established during the Atoms for Peace programme through foreign policy/Foreign Policy. US great power identity thus became constitutive of global nuclear arrangement as the identity was reconstituted through the relations of difference, culminating in US nuclear policies towards India from 1947 to 1992.

In inter-state politics, the actor(s) utilise the narratorial 'we', wherein the 'we' becomes the only truly existing reality, refusing to accept an 'alternative politics of location within equal rights to claim and truth'.[103] The politics of 'we' as opposed to 'them' reinforces the self/other binary opposition. Various subjectivities are located in time and space, where there is only difference and no equality. Despite the desire for both transformation and confirmation of the self, there is essentially no transformation, as this would require recognition of the self's relationship and dependence on the other. In narrative relationships between a particular 'we' and 'others', it is only a relation of *us* versus *them*. Recognition of mutual dependence or the acknowledgement of the 'foreign within' is completely absent. Actors make use of narratives to shape each other's identities and interests and exploit narrative weaknesses to alter the sense of self. Since the self is always located within a past, this self through storytelling attains a

[103] Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 2nd edition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p. 15, cited in Lawrence W. Hogue, 'Postmodernism, Paul Auster's the *New York Trilogy*, and the Construction of the Black/Woman of Color as Primal Other', in Celia R. Daileader, Rhoda E. Johnson, and Amilcar Shahbazz eds., *Women & Others: Perspectives on Race, Gender, and Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 83-105, see p. 100.

performative dimension through which the present and the future become important for its constitution. Narrative identity then transforms into a form of praxis – a form of social action through which the self is continually realised.[104]

The bilateral nuclear interaction between US and India in the three time periods, as examined above, displayed the performative dimension to narrative identity. Through emplotment to varying degrees the actors tried to maintain subjectivities and course of actions. For the US, the representation of India as the 'other' from 1947-1964 became a means to reinforce the primary narrative of Atoms for Peace that regarded scientific assistance to developing and technologically backward countries as important. The aim here was to reemphasise US identity, interests and goals within domestic and international nuclear politics. Thus nuclear cooperation with India was achieved relatively easily. As the 'other' is also simultaneously involved in the politics of difference, the Indian actor(s) increasingly utilised narratives of racial subjugation and colonisation through global inequalities in the disarmament realm. While the sensibilities of the 'other' were necessarily described in feminine terms of 'emotional' and 'hypersensitiveness', the lack of a clear global US disarmament role at this juncture did not impede nuclear cooperation. However, as seen in the next period from 1965-1980, the movement towards new and innovative disarmament measure in the form of NPT led to debilitating differences between the US and India. The narrative emplotment through which the 'other' was varyingly framed as 'economically backward' and 'third world' country that was 'scientifically handicapped', for whom the nuclear weapons has become an issue of mere 'status', 'prestige' and 'chauvinism', led to an indication that the US 'self' was now inextricably tied to the advent of promoting non-proliferation through the NPT. The attempt of Indian actors to yet again define the global nuclear order as a 'nuclear apartheid' was termed as 'irrational' and 'closed minded'. A racial, politico-economic, and gender-based superiority

[104] Catherine Kohler Riessman, 'Narrative Analysis', in Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman, and Tim F. Liao eds., *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Volume 3 (Sage Publications, 2003).

was therefore reinstated in this period as various policy actions like the NSG and the NNPA came into being after the NPT and more importantly after the Indian defiance of the NPT through the PNE. The final period of 1981 to 1992 reconfirmed the continuation of the great power identity of the United States, as Eurocentric narratives were again employed when dealing with the 'other'. The narrative of economic progress was utilised with an emphasis on 'First World' and 'Third World' wherein it would have been 'pragmatic' for the latter to accept arms control. Apart from the political economy and gender dimensions, the geopolitical dimensions to the narrative of India-Pakistan instability demonstrated how the actors try to make a sense of self in new situations. This new narrative incorporated some original elements from Atoms for Peace through developed/developing and technologically forward/technologically backward dichotomies as the great power identity was relatively sustained through incorporation of new trope in terms of comparing US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence stability/instability.

An analysis of the above case studies clearly demonstrates that the formation and projection of narratives under certain conditions result in discernible management of US nuclear identity. A management of discursive economy through emplotment allows the actors to bring about social meaning of specific issues like the global nuclear order. A narrative identity, in this sense, takes a form of constitutive power as only specific interests and identities are engendered amidst various alternatives. The US Nuclear Foreign Policy in relation to India thus indicates a careful management of great power identity.[105]

In the next chapter, I trace the politics of narrative identity during the Clinton administration and how it constituted US nuclear policies towards India. The aim is to demonstrate the performative dimension to storytelling as the actors sought to achieve a coherent sense of self

[105] Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle, *Strategic Narratives*, p. 141.

located in the past, present, and future amidst the framings of new global dangers and new nuclear threats beyond borders.

Chapter Five

Establishing a Post-Cold War Global Nuclear Order: The Bill Clinton Administration's Conflicting Images of India as the 'Other' (1993-2001)

Introduction

William Jefferson Clinton was the first post-Cold War President of the United States. The George H. W. Bush administration had presided over the ending of the Cold War, but it was Clinton who had the task of managing full transition into the post-Cold War era. Among the legacies of the Cold War, of course, was the US relationship with other states that had acquired a nuclear capability. President Clinton made it explicitly clear that there was an urgent need to reorient US foreign policy in ways which addressed the new threats in the new age. In the National Security Strategy (NSS) of 1994, Clinton declared:

> The end of the Cold War fundamentally changed America's security imperatives. The central security challenges of the past half century – the threat of communist expansion – is gone. The dangers we face today are more diverse. Ethnic conflict is spreading and rogue states pose a serious danger to regional stability in many corners of the globe. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction represents a major challenge to our security.[1]

The threat of proliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons was constructed to be of critical priority for the United States.

Nuclear threat was construed as no longer restricted to a monolithic entity in the form of Soviet Union. The dissolution of the Soviet Union meant a proper step-by-step disposal of 'loose nukes' and delivery systems had to be undertaken in states like Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. New nuclear dangers were also identified in the form of 'rogue states' like Iraq and North Korea, alongside the threat of bio-terrorism. The White House announced that a Presidential Directive had been written on reducing the continuing nuclear threat:

[1] 'A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement', *The White House*, July 1994, p. i, http://nssarchive.us/ (Accessed on 14/11/13).

> Even as the threat of nuclear war recedes, we must confront the urgent challenge of ensuring that nuclear weapons and materials do not fall into the wrong hands. For that reason, President Clinton has made the security of nuclear materials a matter of the highest priority.[2]

The most interesting agenda point in the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) of 1994 was the issue of Counter-Proliferation. Rather than inventing new roles for nuclear weapons, the Counter Proliferation Initiative (CPI) promoted a wide range of non-nuclear responses. As a result, the NPT became a centre-piece of this strategy. The large scale reductions embodied in START I and START II treaties made tangible the US' commitment to Article VI of the NPT, which explicitly calls for the nuclear weapons states to take steps to reduce their arsenals. US Secretary of State Warren Christopher reiterated in the Non-Proliferation Review and Extension Conference in April 1995:

> I believe that the NPT is truly one of the most important treaties of all time. Many of the NPT's achievements cannot be quantified--the weapons not built, the nuclear materials not diverted, and the wars not started. But the results are nonetheless impressive. Since coming into force, the NPT has kept the number of nuclear powers far lower than initially forecast. It has given the parties confidence in the nuclear intentions of other nations. It has reduced the risk of nuclear conflict. It has advanced nuclear disarmament. It has bolstered regional security. It has promoted the safe and peaceful use of nuclear energy. And it has undergirded the international community's efforts to halt the spread of all weapons of mass destruction.[3]

The South Asian dyadic nuclear rivalry in this context was cited as the 'most likely' place where weapons could be used and therefore the objective of the Clinton administration for the region was presented as first to 'cap' and then over time to 'reduce' and finally 'eliminate' weapons of mass destruction from the subcontinent.[4] The Indian objection to the permanent extension of the NPT and the Entry into Force clause of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

[2] 'Clinton Directive Aims to Further Reduce Nuclear Threat', White House Statement, 28 September 1995, http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd41.htm (Accessed on 14/11/13).
[3] 'Welcoming Remarks by Secretary Christopher Non-Proliferation Treaty Review and Extension Conference', US Department of State, Office of the Spokesman, 17 April 1995, http://www.nuclearfiles.org/menu/library/treaties/non-proliferation-treaty/reviewconf/trty_npt_reviewconf-1995-welcome-christopher_1994-04-17.htm (Accessed on 14/11/13).
[4] 'Progress toward Regional Nonproliferation in South Asia', Report to Congress, 8 February 1994, http://www.fas.org/irp/threat/940216-327448.htm (Accessed on 19/02/12).

(CTBT) was criticised as reflected in a statement issued by Nicholas Burns, the US State Department Spokesman immediately after the vote on 22 September 1996:

> We would advise those countries that are holding out against the will of the international community to think very carefully: do [they] really want to be the sole countries not in favour of the CTBT? ...I am speaking particularly about...the Government of India which has taken such a difficult position against the will of the international community.[5]

As seen during the Cold War, the global nuclear order was central to the US 'sense of self' achieved through narratives of peace and justice, democratic freedom, scientific advancement, and economic progress of the world. The representation of India as the other in the interim period from 1947-1992, was based primarily on relations of difference that constituted these narratives. A new narrative of India-Pakistan instability gained prominence in the late 1980s in response to the new nuclear realities on the subcontinent through which US identity as a great power garnered continuity. The representation of India warranted special US nuclear policies vis-à-vis India which stopped or completely eliminated the nuclear arms race in South Asia for India as the 'other' was varyingly described as 'scientifically handicapped', 'irrational', economically 'poor', inhabiting an 'unstable East', and part of a dangerous equation in terms of India-Pakistan rivalry. The US policy had thus varied across the period of the Cold War from assisting India's peaceful nuclear programme under the Atoms for Peace programme to a markedly changed policy when establishing the NPT and India's position in it, and finally to a complete halt to bilateral nuclear relations with the termination of the Tarapur cooperation.

However, the narratives of consecutive US administrations were also accompanied by the counter-narratives of Indian elites at each stage, which in turn sometimes fed into the US rhetoric. Through disarticulation of various links between the 'US' and 'freedom', 'democratic', 'equality' and 'justice', Indian elites firmly placed India within the identity

[5] Rajesh Gopalan, 'India and the CTBT', IPSG Newsletter, May 1997, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/ipsg/ctbt.htm (Accessed on 12/02/12).

parameters of a 'postcolonial' nation that was actually opposing the 'nuclear apartheid' as produced through the NPT creating the nuclear 'haves' and 'have-nots'. Western conceptions of 'sovereignty' and 'equality' were dextrously reutilised to support the arguments for this position. But the largest discrepancy remained between the US conception of the nuclear arms race as a 'regional' problem and India's conception of nuclear arms as a 'global' problem that necessitated adherence to Article VI of the NPT, ideally before Article IV could be considered.[6] Counter-narratives to the process of narrative identity were equally important as they affected subsequent narrative framings of the US 'self' and India as the 'other' bringing to the fore the workings of creative agency or narrative power. Narrative identity is intrinsically linked to the intersubjective process through which US identity as a great power comes to be negotiated.

This chapter focuses on US nuclear policy towards India during the Clinton administration. It investigates how the narrative identity of the 'self' through the representation of India as the 'other' evolved during the period of 1993-2001. The chapter investigates how the main narratives of the US 'self' as established during the Atoms for Peace programme were reutilised by the Clinton administration officials through the process of emplotment that necessarily led to a redefinition of India as the 'other' constituting the nuclear policies of 'sanctions', 'halt, cap and rollback' and the 'five benchmarks' during this period. The narrative power is highlighted through the suppression of counter-narratives present within the discursive economy. The ultimate aim of the chapter is to highlight the continuation of great power identity reconstituted through the relations of identity/difference that increasingly came to justify US role as an arbiter of the post-Cold War global nuclear order.

As I have argued previously in the methodological and subsequent empirical chapters, any discussion of narrative identity, involves an examination of Foreign Policies as key 'discursive

[6] For general information on NPT Articles see, The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 2005 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty, 2-27 May 2005, New York, http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2005/npttreaty.html (Accessed on 27/06/14).

events'. Foreign Policy is the source of major discursive production whereby 'foreign policies' as all modes of exclusionary practices provide a means for the ruling coalition to maintain and re-establish particular identities that engender an internal/external divide. Firstly, I evaluate the discursive events or major Foreign Policies of the Clinton administration with regard to India, which are: the imposition of sanctions in May 1998; the establishment of 'five benchmarks' in 1998-1999; and Clinton's visit to India in March 2000. Once the significance of these events is clear, I then undertake an evaluation of the main narratives, namely: debating 'Hindu radicalism'; the geo-political, cultural, and economic dimensions to India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence; the Clinton administration's understanding of 'democratic' principles that define America; a 'struggling' economy on to a path of reforms; and a 'second-tier' state's quest for technological prowess. The chapter then concludes with several final observations about self/other relations in the light of this analysis.

Background to the discursive events

When the Clinton administration came to power in January 1993, it sought to identify in a concrete manner various threats to the US national security. The ostensible Cold War threat of the Soviet Union had been replaced by a myriad range of other challenges. Failing states, humanitarian crises, terrorism, and environmental deterioration all posed direct threats to the US in the view of the administration. Potentially the most threatening of all post-Cold War concerns for the administration was the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. These concerns were reflected in comments made before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee by Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (1993-1995), James Woolsey in February 1993:

> Of the many issues that have emerged in recent years, few have been more serious – and have more serious and far-reaching implications for global and regional security and stability – than proliferation. Proliferation poses one of the most complex challenges the intelligence community will face for the remainder of this century.[7]

[7] James Woolsey, 'Hearing of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee', 24 February 1993, http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/united-states-congress-senate-committee-on-gove/proliferation-threats-

This hearing was crucial as it revealed parameters the administration was setting for curbing proliferation in specific regions that included North Korea, and the Middle East. But it was South Asia, with the India-Pakistan dyadic rivalry that was cited as the 'most likely' place where weapons could be used. From here on, South Asian denuclearisation became the prime focus of the administration's non-proliferation policy. A year later in a Report to the Congress by the White House, the administration outlined that:

> We continue our special efforts to combat the proliferation threat in regions of tension such as South Asia, seeking to address the underlying motivations for weapons acquisition and to promote regional security through confidence-building measures and arms control. Reducing tensions can be just as effective in building security as enhancing military capabilities, if not more so, as we and the then-Soviet Union learned from years of effort.[8]

The report also explicitly stated that the 'objective' of the Clinton administration was 'first to cap, then over time reduce, and finally eliminate the possession of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery' on the sub-continent.[9] This aim was operationalised in Clinton's policy towards India (and Pakistan) in three major foreign policy developments: (a) the imposition of sanctions after the nuclear tests of 1998; (b) the establishment of 'five benchmarks' for India (and Pakistan) to work towards non-proliferation goals in 1998-1999; (c) Clinton's historic visit to India in March 2000.

The series of five nuclear tests conducted by India on 11 and 13 May 1998 invoked criticism from the international community. The most vociferous and concerning remarks were issued by the US, as Clinton proclaimed that the Indian nuclear tests 'were unjustified' and created a new instability in the region.[10] India's dissidence to the non-proliferation regimes was cited by White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry as he concluded that the Indian decision to

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of-the-1990s--hearing-before-the-committee-on-government-tin/page-2-proliferation-threats-of-the-1990s--hearing-before-the-committee-on-government-tin.shtml (Accessed on 17/02/12).

[8] 'Progress toward Regional Nonproliferation in South Asia'.

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] Office of the Press Secretary, 'World Reaction to the Indian Nuclear Tests', 13 May 1998, http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country_india/reaction.htm#us (Accessed on 13/07/14).

conduct nuclear tests ran 'counter to the effort the international community is making to promulgate a comprehensive ban on such testing'.[11] Shortly after conducting five nuclear tests on 28 May 1998 citing Pakistan's need to protect itself from the Indian military pressure, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif noted that India had made the action 'inevitable'.[12] The Pakistani tests were equally deplored while Clinton urged both India and Pakistan to 'renounce further tests, sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and take decisive steps to reduce tensions in South Asia and reverse the dangerous arms race'.[13]

Sanctions as a strategy to deter India and Pakistan from overt nuclearisation were adopted by the Clinton administration even before 1998. For instance, in 1993, both Indian ISRO and Russian Glavkosmos were sanctioned, as the sale of seven cryogenic rocket engines to India supposedly contravened the MTCR.[14] Similarly, Pakistan, which was already sanctioned in 1990 through the Pressler Amendment enacted in the US Congress in 1985, was further sanctioned for receiving prohibited missile technology from China in 1993.[15] These sanctions underscored the administration's overarching goal of 'first to cap, then over time reduce, and finally eliminate the possession of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery'.[16] Perkovich notes, this approach reflected an emerging genuine acceptance among key government officials and non-governmental experts that nuclear weapon capabilities would remain part of the South Asian reality for the foreseeable future. The challenge now was to convince India and Pakistan to capitalise on the basic deterrence they had achieved and stop

[11] 'Statement by the White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry', USIA Washington File, 11 May 1998, cited in 'World Reaction to the Indian Nuclear Tests'.
[12] '1998: World fury at Pakistan's nuclear tests', *BBC news*, 28 May 1998, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/28/newsid_2495000/2495045.stm (Accessed on 12/07/14).
[13] 'Statement by President Clinton', *CNN*, 28 May 1998, http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country_india/wreactpk.htm#US (Accessed on 13/07/14).
[14] Srinivas Laxman, 'India overcame US sanctions to develop cryogenic engine', *The Times of India*, 6 January 2014, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-overcame-US-sanctions-to-develop-cryogenic-engine/articleshow/28449360.cms (Accessed on 13/07/14).
[15] James Wynbrandt, *A Brief History of Pakistan* (New York: Facts on File Inc., 2009), p. 243.
[16] Devin T. Hagerty, 'Kashmir and the Nuclear Question', in Charles H. Kennedy and Rasul Baksh Rais eds., *Pakistan: 1995* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 167-171.

short of overt nuclearisation.[17] However, the overt nuclear tests by the two enemy nations put a halt to this process. In response to the 'tit-for-tat' Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests in May 1998, President Clinton imposed compulsory sanctions as mandated under Section 102 (b) Arms Export Control Act (AECA) otherwise known as the Glenn Amendment, and under the Export-Import Bank Act.[18] The sanctions led to the termination of foreign assistance other than humanitarian or food assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act, termination of government sales of defence articles under the AECA, and termination of US backed credit or financial assistance along with US opposition to loans or assistance from any international financial institutions.[19] However, within months after the tests, Congress passed the India-Pakistan Relief Act of 1998, signed into law by the President on 21 October 1998 that allowed the President to wave sanctions for a period. One year later the 106th Congress gave the President authority to extend the waiver for an indefinite period (P.L. 106-79). Thereafter most of the sanctions on India were lifted although sanctions related to dual use technology, some military hardware and on Indian entities involved in missile production remained.[20] Hereafter, a dialogue was pursued that implied recognition, though not an acceptance, that India will not join NPT in the foreseeable future. The 'five benchmarks' therefore became the composite pragmatic dialogue for the administration.

Based upon UN resolution 1172 which condemned the Indian and Pakistan nuclear tests, the Clinton administration forwarded five key 'benchmarks' for India (and Pakistan) to work

[17] George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation*, p. 335, cited in Sumit Ganguly and Devin T. Hagerty, *Fearful Symmetry: India-Pakistan Crises in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 118.
[18] Sec. 102 of the Arms Export Control Act (Public Law 90-629; 22 U.S.C. 2799aa-1), popularly referred to as the Glenn amendment; and sec. 2(b)(4) of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945 (P.L. 79-173; 12 U.S.C. 635(b)(4)). For more information see, Dianne E. Rennack, 'India and Pakistan: Current U.S. Economic Sanctions', *CRS Report for Congress*, RS20995, 12 October 2001, p. 2-3, http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/6202.pdf (Accessed 17/02/12).
[19] 'White House Statement on Sanctions Imposed on India', Statement by the Press Secretary, 13 May 1998, http://www.bu.edu/globalbeat/pubs/usia051398.html (Accessed on 19/02/12).
[20] Alan K. Kronstadt, 'Nuclear Weapons and Ballistic Missile Proliferation in India and Pakistan: Issues for Congress', *CRS Report for Congress*, RL30623, 31 July 2000, pp. 3-4, https://wikileaks.org/wiki/CRS:_NUCLEAR_WEAPONS_AND_BALLISTIC_MISSILE_PROLIFERATION_IN_INDIA_AND_PAKISTAN:_ISSUES_FOR_CONGRESS,_July_31,_2000 (Accessed on 03/03/11).

towards non-proliferation goals. The five key benchmarks were: (a) signing and ratifying the CTBT; (b) halting all further production of fissile material and participating in Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) negotiations; (c) limiting development and deployment of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) delivery vehicles; (d) implementing strict export controls on sensitive WMD materials and technologies; and (e) the establishment of a bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan to discuss their mutual differences.[21] The five benchmarks constituted the main policy aims of United States until the end of the administration's tenure and were the primary focus of the Talbott-Singh talks over the period of 1998-2000. The Talbott-Singh talks undertaken after the Indian tests comprised of ten rounds of talks between then US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, and Indian Minister of External Affairs Jaswant Singh. These were the first sustained dialogues between the two democracies, which brought about a thaw in bilateral relations but did not accomplish the desired non-proliferation goals of the Clinton administration.[22] Nevertheless, the policy of halting nuclear proliferation in India did not change even as Bill Clinton made his historic visit to India in March 2000.[23]

Clinton's visit to the subcontinent from 21-25 March 2000 marked a new beginning in Indo-US relations, as it was the first official visit by a US President in 22 years.[24] Speaking to foreign correspondents, Ambassador Richard Celeste said the 'purpose of the visit is to broaden the engagement and underscore the range of our relationship'.[25] Indeed, this trip marked a major shift in US foreign policy vis-à-vis India, as it encompassed a desire to unleash stable and peaceful relations between two democracies that had experienced nothing but strain in bilateral

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[22] Gaurav Kampani, 'In Praise of Indifference toward India's Bomb', *Orbis*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2001, pp. 241-257, here p. 243.
[23] 'U.S.-India Relations: A Vision for the 21st Century', Office of the Press Secretary, 21 March 2000, http://archives.clintonpresidentialcenter.org/?u=032100-joint-statement-us-and-india.htm (Accessed on 26/01/12).
[24] Jimmy Carter was the last US President to visit India in 1978. As discussed in the historical chapter, after the inception of NPT, US-India relations were mired in discord that continued through the peak of Cold War and till early 1990s and even through the Clinton administration as will be examined below.
[25] 'President Bill Clinton's Visit to India – 2000', *The New Indian Express*, http://www.newindianexpress.com/photos/world/President-Bill-Clintons-Visit-to-India---2000/2015/01/25/article2636216.ece (Accessed on 18/04/15).

relations since the Cold War. The five-day visit to India, along with a one day stop-over in Bangladesh and five hour stop in Pakistan conveyed an apparent message that American policy, which until now was identified with 'tilt' towards Pakistan, had undergone a significant reappraisal. US foreign policy was no longer confined to Cold War concerns, and problems such as the expansion of democracy, combating terrorism and developing equitable global and economic order were potential areas where the United States and India could proactively cooperate.[26]

Though the visit was a diplomatic triumph in terms of creating a more conducive environment for dialogue and commitment to government-to-government interaction, it did not achieve much in terms of comprehensive economic and strategic cooperation. The 'unresolved tension', as Satu P. Limaye terms it, was entirely hinged on one issue – the nuclear discord.[27] The US-India Joint Vision Statement of March 2000 summarised these differing positions:

> India and the United States share a commitment to reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons, but we have not always agreed on how to reach this common goal. The United States believes India should forgo nuclear weapons. India believes that it needs to maintain a credible minimum nuclear deterrent in keeping with its own assessment of its security needs.[28]

The divergent concerns and sensitivities, just below the surface of bonhomie and apparent accommodation of India's possession of nuclear weapons, were made clear when President Clinton declared that the subcontinent was 'the most dangerous place' in the world.[29] The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government's stance on the India nuclear capability remained consistent with the previous governments. The nuclear issue remained a hurdle, even during PM Vajpayee's state visit to the US in September 2000. On the subject of a voluntary

[26] Stephen P. Cohen, 'India and America: An Emerging Relationship', A Paper Presented to the Conference on the Nation-State System and Transnational Forces in South Asia, 8-10 December 2000, Kyoto, Japan.
[27] Satu P. Limaye, *US-India Relations: Stuck in a Nuclear Narrative*, http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/0101qus_india.pdf (Accessed on 14/02/14).
[28] 'India-US Relations: A Vision for the 21st Century', Joint U.S.-India Statement, Fact Sheet, released by the Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, Agra, India, 21 March 2000, http://www.state.gov/1997-2001-NOPDFS//global/human_rights/democracy/fs_000321_us_india.html (Accessed on 26/01/12).
[29] As cited in Limaye, *US-India Relations*, p. 2. Also see, 'Analysis: The world's most dangerous place?', *BBC News*, 23 March 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/687021.stm (Accessed on 06/07/14).

moratorium on nuclear testing, the government declared that the Indian adherence was 'subject to its supreme national interests' while in an address to the Congress, Vajpayee alluded only to a shared 'commitment to ultimately eliminating weapons'.[30] The irreconcilable position on nuclear quandary meant that a broad array of sanctions, imposed after the 1998 nuclear tests, remained. In March 2000, for instance, the US Federal Register published the removal of only 51 Indian entities from the list of nearly 200 Indian entities under sanctions.[31] On the importance of non-proliferation in US-India relations, Thomas Pickering, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (1997-2000), accurately summarised the US position as he noted in his remarks to the Foreign Policy Institute, South Asia Program at Johns Hopkins University on 27 April 2000:

> No issue is more important to American security than our efforts to counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons, and their means of delivery. This issue will continue to play a central role in our relations in the sub-continent. Even as we seek to build a new and qualitatively closer relationship with India, that relationship cannot realize its full potential without further progress on nonproliferation.[32]

The Clinton administration's nuclear policy was thus largely guided by an effort to 'halt', 'cap' and preferably reverse the Indian (and Pakistan) nuclear programme whilst working towards denuclearisation of the subcontinent. As seen from the above discussion, incremental efforts were made to achieve these aims, but Indian governments' defiance of non-proliferation norms could not be reined in. The following section evaluates how the narrative identity constituted and directed the course and composition of US nuclear policies towards India. Of importance is to consider how the actors were able to emplot and make sense of self in time and space

[30] As cited in Limaye, *US-India Relations*, p. 2.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 2.
[32] 'U.S. Policy in South Asia: The Road Ahead', Thomas R. Pickering, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Remarks, Foreign Policy Institute, South Asia Program, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C., 27 April 2000, http://www.state.gov/1997-2001-NOPDFS/////policy_remarks/2000/000427_pickering_sa.html (Accessed on 01/07/13).

through Foreign Policy texts – a 'sense of self' integral to the reconstitution of US identity as a great power inextricably linked to the global nuclear order.

Great power narratives and US nuclear identity

An exploration of narrative tropes around the discursive events as discussed above leads to identification of five different narratives through which the US 'self' was being negotiated in relations of identity and difference. The narratives could be clearly demarcated as: debating 'Hindu radicalism' and its propensity to practice peace, the geopolitical, cultural and economic dimensions to US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence, 'greatness' as per democratic principles that define America, a 'struggling' economy on to a path of reforms, and a 'second-tier' state's quest to demonstrate technological prowess. This section undertakes an evaluation of narrative identity construction through the Foreign Policy texts and how these narratives incorporated linguistic elements from previous such narratives engendered through the implementation of Atoms for Peace, and US-India nuclear relations as punctuated by nuclear discord between 1947 and 1992.

Debating 'Hindu radicalism' and its propensity to practice peace

As examined previously, during the implementation of Atoms for Peace and even during the initial years of assisting Indian nuclear development through the programme, the racial identity of the United States played a crucial role in reinstating the narrative of peace and scientific assistance through the utilisation of the dichotomy such as Christian/Hindu civilisation. The intersectionality of 'race' and 'religion' are crucial for the narrative of peace and its constitutional effect on both American foreign policy and American identity.[33] During the

[33] Mark A. Noll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 2-3. As the author notes, Race and Religion have interacted to shape politics in America. Before the Civil War, religion drove abolitionist assaults upon slavery even as it undergirded influential defences of slavery in both the North and the South. After the conflict, religion and politics worked very differently for African Americans than for the white majority culture. It has been the general interweaving of race and religion, along with a discernibly religious mode of public argument that have pervaded the nation's political history. The religious note in American political discourse has been a source of foreign comment from before de Tocqueville to the present.

implementation of Atoms for Peace, the Soviet 'other' came to be recognised as an 'evil' and 'atheist' empire devoid of any 'soul'. As for India, assistance in the scientific domain for the development of peaceful nuclear technology was considered to be mandatory since Indian scientists were increasingly operating under the duress of 'constraining' and 'impractical' 'Hindu philosophy'. In both cases, the inequalities were racially-derived through religious differentiation from 'atheism' and 'Hindu philosophy'. Amidst the discursive rupture caused by India's overt nuclearisation in May 1998, various linguistic elements from past such narratives were reutilised by the actors within the Clinton administration to ensure the continuation of the identity of the US as a great power validated through the continuation of the NPT-centric global nuclear order. Also, the narrative of peace was utilised with emphasis on the Gandhian-Nehruvian practice of 'peace' to ensure an integration of counter-narratives in an intersubjective environment that was tinged by narrative power.

The decision of India to test the nuclear weapons and its recalcitrance on issues such as nuclear testing and the CTBT was formally framed as the result of BJP nationalism which was couched in terms of 'Hindu radicalism', 'religious zealots', 'militant Hinduism', 'nationalistic fervour', 'religious party' and 'Hindu nationalist pride'.[34] The recourse to fundamentalist religious beliefs framed the decision to conduct nuclear tests as largely a result of Hindu 'self-esteem', 'prestige', 'chauvinism' and 'vain glory' as opposed to genuine security concerns on the subcontinent.[35] Strobe Talbott recalled the qualities of BJP fanaticism in his autobiography *Engaging India*:

[34] Strobe Talbott, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2006), p. 27 and p. 45. Statement of Hon. Karl F. Inderfurth, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, Accompanied by Robert Einhorn, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Nonproliferation, Bureau of Political and Military Affairs, 'Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests; India and Pakistan: What Next?', Hearings before the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 105th Congress, 13 May, 3 June and 13 July 1998 (US Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.), downloaded at Library of congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13, p. 31 and p. 40.

[35] Statement by Thomas Graham Jr., quoted in Steve Coll, 'The Race Is On- and May be Hard to Stop', *The Washington Post*, 29 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress on 10/05/13. President Clinton quoted in John F. Burns, 'The World: Riding the Tiger; India Charts a Pariah's Path

> But the fact remained that the BJP included – and not just on its fringes – sectarian zealots who were implicated in incidents of communal violence. The party had evolved from the political wing of the RSS, the organization that rejected root-and-branch Mohandas Gandhi's concept of nationhood based on diversity as a virtue of Indian society and inclusiveness as a necessity of Indian politics.[36]

Similarly, National Security Advisor Sandy Berger in a private conversation with Jaswant Singh during the Talbott-Singh dialogue expounded: 'Many people think there's Hindu radicalism in your country that's equally threatening'.[37] The militant aspect of Hindutva was further brought to light as Strobe Talbott recalled the procession led by RSS turned politician and BJP President Lal Krishna Advani, from Gujarat to Uttar Pradesh as part of the demonstrations against the mosque in Ayodhya, which was the centre of fierce contention between Hindus and Muslims. Ayodhya was/is purported to be the birth place of Ram – the mythical Hindu king – whereas the mosque already built there by the Mogul King Babur held religious significance for the Muslims in India.[38] Similarly, Senator Robb, in his testimony to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1998 reiterated that: 'Nationalistic fervour in India probably underlies the decision to engage in nuclear testing'.[39] The focus on the fundamental ideology of Hinduism as a deviant religion sets the United States in a culturally and religiously superior position. References regarded the nuclear test as akin to 'original sin', 'against humanity', and the capability to build nuclear weapons was termed as 'evil' while simultaneously US was represented as a beacon of 'hope'.[40] The narrative of peace thus invoked biblical references, which set Christianity apart as a relatively peaceful religion compared with fundamental/radical Hinduism.[41] The narrative of peace thus enabled the actors

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to Glory', *The New York Times*, 17 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 19/12/13. Strobe Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 5.

[36] Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 27.

[37] Sandy Berger quoted in Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 122.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[39] Statement by Senator Robb in, 'Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests; India and Pakistan: What Next?', p. 3.

[40] 'On the Record Briefing Deputy Secretary Talbott on India and Pakistan', US Department of State, Office of the Spokesman, 28 May 1998, and 'President William Jefferson Clinton Remarks on MFN and South Asia', The White House, Washington D.C., 3 June 1998, Clinton Presidential Records, National Security Council, Anthony Blinken Speechwriting, 2006-0459-7-OP 6N, Box 36 and 39.

[41] 'About the Hindu critique of monotheism', in Koenraad Elst, *Ayodhya: The Case Against the Temple* (New Delhi: Voice of India Publishers, 2002).

to constitute the racial difference in the form of distinguishing the Indian 'other' from the US 'self', whereby in metaphoric terms those who are different from the self, become the repository of evil and inhumane attributes in a religious sense.[42] Either way, 'sanctions' and the 'halt and cap and rollback' of the nuclear weapons programme were the only steps that could rein in the destructive 'other' and ensure peace on the subcontinent. Such policy became mandatory in order to justify the national interests of the 'self' that stood for peace, justice and hope in relation to the global nuclear arrangements. As Richard Ashley notes, 'at a bare minimum, the state must be represented as an entity having coherent set of interests and possessing some set of means that it is able to deploy in the services of these interests'.[43] This requires the state to be represented having absolute boundaries unambiguously demarcating a domestic 'inside' and setting it off from an international 'outside'. 'What must characterise the 'inside' is the realisation of the heroic practice's regulative ideal of a sovereign identity – an identity that not only reconciles the contesting interpretations in a unique and universally recognised interpretation of a national 'interest' but also effectively mobilises social resources, as means, by appeal to this interest'.[44]

An effort to delink 'America' with 'peace' within a broad narrative of the Judeo-Christian penchant for peace was made at this juncture, both domestically and internationally through interaction with the Indian elites. For instance, on the domestic front, John Mearsheimer, one of the ardent critics of Clinton administration policies, argued that India did not acquire nuclear weapons for 'frivolous reasons like misplaced pride or domestic politics', rather like the United States it had a sound strategic reasons for wanting them.[45] Similarly, Devin T. Hagerty

[42] As expanded upon by Andrew J. Rotter, *Comrades at Odds: The United States and India, 1947-1964* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 6.
[43] Ashley, 'Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', p. 248.
[44] *Ibid*.
[45] John Mearsheimer, 'India Needs The Bomb'. *The New York Times*, 24 March 2000, http://www.nytimes.com/2000/03/24/opinion/india-needs-the-bomb.html (Accessed on 02/01/12), and John Mearsheimer quoted in Peter Beinart, 'Learning to live, with nuclear weapons: When India tested its nuclear capability on 11 May it meant foreign policy once more must take into account this fact: Those who possess the bomb hold the fate of large chunks of humanity in their hands', *The Globe and Mail*, 25 July 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.

contended in his article in *Japan Times* of 28 August 1998, that the 'US should stop preaching nuclear chastity, until it, too, is willing to forswear nuclear weapons'.[46] Similarly, Henry Kissinger stated at a supposedly off-record foreign policy conference: 'If I were president of the United States, I'd deplore [the test]. If I were the prime minister of India, I'd do it'.[47] As opposed to the Hindu chauvinistic pride, the narratives forwarded by John Mearsheimer and Henry Kissinger, tactfully accepted as realistic and the strategic sense underlying the Indian decision to test. Directly referring to the 'vows of chastity' that are integral to the identity of Christian 'self', Devin T. Hagerty sought to delink 'America' with 'nuclear chastity' thus indirectly asserting that as far as nuclear matters were concerned, the US did not strictly adhere to Christian morals and thereby absolute peace.[48]

In the intersubjective environment, the Christian/Hindu dichotomy was challenged by the Indian actors for Hinduism's proclivity for peace was reasserted through a reiteration of the civilisational superiority of Hindu religion which offered similar sort of morally high principles like Christianity. By this implication, Hinduism could not be considered inferior. The claims that the BJP was a follower of Hindu radicalism and practiced intolerance as far as the other religions are concerned were refuted through an emphasis on the civilisational richness of Hinduism. It was claimed that Hinduism's openness to various religions over the centuries had made India today a cohort of people from different religions where 'secularism' was of highest virtue. During his conversation with Strobe Talbott over the series of dialogues, Jaswant Singh remarked that despite invasions over the centuries, the tenets of Hinduism which proclaim peace had enabled India to maintain its 'civilisational essence, its innate rationality, and its

[46] Devin T. Hagerty cited in Brad Glosserman, 'South Asia protected by nuclear balance of terror', *The Japan Times*, 25 August 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.
[47] Kissinger made this comment at the 46th Bilderberg Meeting in Turnberry, Scotland, held 14-17 May 1998, cited in Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 55.
[48] For more on Christian spirituality and vows of chastity, see, Adrian H. Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations between Religion, Church and Society,* translated by Reinder Bruinsma (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994).

ability to absorb shocks'.[49] In other instances, it was promulgated that India always believed in 'peace' as all 'ancient literature (Shastra) start and end with Om Shanti, Shanti'.[50] The BJP/Hindu Party thus believed in peace guided by 'dharma' and 'truth'.[51] The narrative of Hinduism as peaceful religion presented a contradiction between the Judeo-Christian West and secular India guided by Hinduism, which unlike the Christian West, never indulged in spreading its own influence. By this inference, the BJP brand of Hinduism was not 'fundamental' or 'nationalistic' as portrayed by the US. Weaponisation by India was constrained only to defensive purposes and not offensive purposes as the nation only sought peace and not destruction and was always ready for non-discriminatory universal disarmament.[52] The elite narrative in India thereby re-established the comparison between colonialism and NPT/CTBT and that it is 'hegemonistic', and reflected the 'mentality' of the bygone era.[53]. As per this claim, the United States was still colonial in its practices of ensuring the permanent establishment of the NPT while forcing India to at least sign CTBT in order to demonstrate restraint. Drawing explicit parallels between India's experience under British colonialism and US nuclear policies, Jaswant Singh noted during the Talbott-Singh dialogue:

> We need to talk to the Americans first. We have concerns that must be addressed. The United States, in its pique, seems to want us to sign first and talk later…If you hold a gun to a country's head and say, 'Sign on the dotted line!', then it makes things very difficult. This country has had a long history of colonial domination. It's only fifty years free from it. Now, fifty years down the line, we are not prepared to accept another form of colonialism. If you say first I must crawl – India must crawl before we can talk with you – then it reminds us of Amritsar.[54]

In this statement, Jaswant Singh makes explicit connection between American insistence on India adhering to the five-benchmarks and the incident during the British colonial rule in India

[49] Jaswant Singh quoted in Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 119.
[50] Dr. Krishna M. Bhatta and Dr. Mahesh Mehta, 'Policy on Major Issues: Nuclear Issue', Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Official Policy Statement on Nuclear Weapons, http://nuclearweaponarchive.org/India/BJPPolicy.txt (Accessed on 13/04/13). 'Om Shanti' literally translates to 'Cosmic Peace'.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] *Ibid*.
[53] 'India labels US-China statement on South Asia 'hegemonistic'', *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, 28 June 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.
[54] Jaswant Singh quoted in Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 76.

in 1919 when a British commander in the Punjabi city of Amritsar ordered Indians to crawl past the place where two English women were allegedly molested. Submission to the global nuclear regime as propagated by the United States was likened and compared to the Indian submission during the British rule.[55]

In order to undo these challenges to the conception of 'self' as a peaceful nation, actors in the Clinton administration sought to position the BJP's 'radical Hinduism' in opposition to 'Gandhian peace' which was also then compared to Martin Luther King. Jr and his legacy of attaining civil rights through peaceful resistance. This was an important nuance in the narrative of peace as it established commonality between the US and India at certain levels in terms of democratic struggles for peace while retaining the distinction between 'radical Hinduism' and Christianity. For Talbott, the Congress Party represented the 'non-violent', 'sturdiness', and 'resilience' of India's democracy, which was a common bond between the United States and India irrespective of their tenuous ties.[56] The democratic principles of the Congress Party thus represented strength as opposed to weakness, akin to the 'self', ensuring a continuation of a pluralist-secular and a peaceful state. Under the BJP, the concept of 'Hindu nationalism' essentially substituted the 'Gandhian-Nehruvian' concept of a pluralist-secular state. To this end, Talbott explained the attributes of Hindu nationalism as:

> For exactly that reason, the ability of the BJP, with its ideology of Hindu supremacy, to beat the Congress Party at the game of electoral politics represented a vexing and paradoxical phenomenon.[57]

In his opening remarks to the Indian Parliament on 22 March 2000, Clinton further solidified the Gandhian-Nehruvian/radical Hinduism dichotomy through his reiteration of India as a land of contradiction and competing superficial images between 'atomic' weapons or 'ahimsa' (non-violence – a term always used in the context of Gandhi's non-violent struggle against the

[55] Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 76.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 44-45.
[57] *Ibid*.

British Empire).[58] In comparing the virtues of equality that frames the US as a postcolonial nation, Clinton again drew parallels between Gandhi's effort to lead India to independence from the British colonial rule and King's peaceful struggle for equality of blacks in the US. As Clinton elaborated in his remarks at the Rashtrapati Bhavan on 21 March 2000:

> The influence of Gandhi on Martin Luther King Jr in the struggle for the equality of the blacks in America is well-known; so much so that when Mr King was shot, the whole world said that another Gandhi has been shot. Thus Mr President, impulses greater than trade and commerce have linked our two countries and peoples.[59]

The narrative of peace that drew comparisons between Gandhi and Luther highlighted the common ideas, ideals and enlightened interests that bound the two nations. The incorporation of these new nuances served to represent a difference of Christianity from radical Hinduism but also skilfully tried to rectify the previous accusations of India on 'nuclear apartheid' as perpetuated by US global nuclear arrangements. The comparisons between Martin Luther King and Gandhian ways of attaining freedom and equality framed both the US and India as postcolonial nations who had experienced their fair share of struggles against racial apartheid. This signified the continuous usage and evolution of national discourse, as Robbie Shilliam contends, that incorporates counter-discourses over a period of time since relations of domination cannot simply be understood as exploitation of a passive victim. In this sense, representations are never static and keep evolving to suit particular notions of the self since both the coloniser and the colonised are to be considered as agents of transformation.[60] Overall, the narrative of peace through establishment of religious dichotomy of the Christian 'self' as opposed to the radical Hindu 'other' led to the continuation of US identity as 'God's chosen country', a concept which derives its lineage from political positions that have been

[58] 'Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Sessions of Parliament', The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 22 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office- Press Releases Master Set, 4 March 2000 –31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78.
[59] 'Remarks by President Clinton and President Narayanan of India in an exchange of Toasts', Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi, India, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 21 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office- Press Releases Master Set, 4 March 2000 –31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78.
[60] Robbie Shilliam, 'The perilous but unavoidable terrain of the non-West', in Robbie Shilliam eds., *International Relations and Non-Western Thoughts*, p. 19.

continuously present in American history during debates over slavery and war, economic opportunity and civil rights.[61] The global nuclear order established through the NPT was non-negotiable since America's destiny as God's chosen country was tied to it. The comparisons between US-Soviet Union deterrence stability and India-Pakistan deterrence instability enabled the administration officials to continue with the policy of 'sanctions', 'five-benchmarks' and 'cap' on the Indian nuclear programmes as examined below.

The geopolitical, cultural, and economic dimensions to US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence

The comparative narrative of US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence, as examined in the previous chapter, was produced in the latter half of the 1980s in response to the new nuclear developments on the subcontinent. In a continual process of making sense of self, Reagan and Bush administration officials drew comparisons between the deterrence stability where 'self' as stable and 'other' as unstable gained prominence through the incorporation of identity tropes from the narrative of economy progress. Through appropriation of the past, the administrations were able to project US identity as a great power into the future in terms of the continuation of an NPT-led global nuclear order in the present, where the India-Pakistan deterrence relationship was an anomaly. With the overt nuclearisation of India and Pakistan in May 1998, the narrative of comparative deterrence stability/instability acquired new vigour in the process of identity formation, on which the concomitant policy options were based. This narrative identity, however, underwent major transitions as it was set in an intersubjective process from 1993 to 2001.

Regular inferences were drawn between the unparalleled experience of the US-Soviet Union nuclear relationship and India-Pakistan nuclear relationship, which alluded to the central identity/difference in terms of geopolitical i.e., spatial dimensions to the North/South and

[61] Noll, *God and Race in American Politics*, pp. 2-3.

West/East divide as established under the Atoms for Peace programme. Comparisons were made between the nuclear deterrence relationships whereby US-Soviet Union deterrence was framed in superior terms as opposed to India-Pakistan nuclear instability, which was conceived to be 'less stable' and potentially more 'volatile' than the US-Soviet Union nuclear deterrence even at the height of the Cold War.[62] Arguably in this light, it was proclaimed that India and Pakistan should immediately reverse the 'disastrous arms race', because deterrence alone cannot prevent 'accident or miscalculation' which could lead India-Pakistan 'closer to an actual nuclear war'.[63] These alarming predictions were made on the basis that the India-Pakistan nuclear experience was very different from the US-Soviet Union, due to the historical animosities and geographical contingencies. William Perry, the US Defense Secretary (1994-1997), for instance, in 1995 alluded to the three wars already fought by India and Pakistan and that the next war would be 'catastrophic' and more 'tragic' with the nuclear element now added to the unstable and highly 'volatile' bilateral mixture.[64] What made India-Pakistan deterrence unlike US-Russia deterrence, noted a report by the Pentagon in 1998 was that each 'maintains substantial forces along their common border. These forces frequently exchange small-arms and artillery fire along the Line of Control in disputed Kashmir', thus risking escalation to a nuclear exchange.[65] In a Hearing before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the House

[62] Pentagon Spokesperson Kenneth Bacon quoted in Bill Gertz, 'South Asian arms race raises spectre of nuclear exchange; Indian test blasts follow Pakistan's surprise missile launch', *The Washington Times*, 15 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[63] 'Statement by the President', Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, 30 May 1998, Clinton Presidential Records, National Security Council, Anthony Blinken Speechwriting, 2006-0459 OP6N, Box 36 and Box 39. 'Press Briefing by Mike McCurry', The Briefing Room, White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office – Press Briefings Master Set, January 1998 – July 1998, OA Number - 41012, Box 11. AP, Reuter, 'Blast ignites firestorm of condemnation: G8 meeting press Kashmir talks', *The Gazette*, 31 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 12/05/13. Jane Perlez, 'Clinton Implores India's Legislators to Shun Nuclear Arms', The *New York Times*, 23 March 2000, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13. 'Nuclear future not more secure, Clinton cautions', *St. Petersburg Times*, 23 March 2000, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13. Gary Milhollin of the Wisconsin Project On Nuclear Arms Control quoted in Lee Michael Katz, 'India-Pakistan tensions now have a 'hair trigger'', *USA Today*, 12 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[64] William Perry quoted in Dana Priest, 'U.S. Hopes India Accord Will Reduce Nuclear Threat in South Asia', *The Washington Post*, 14 January 1995, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1996), downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[65] 'South Asia', http://fas.org/irp/threat/prolif97/so_asia.html (Accessed on 18/04/15). Also see, Pentagon Report quoted in Bill Gertz, 'South Asian arms race raises spectre of nuclear exchange; Indian test blasts follow

Committee on International Relations on 18 June 1998, the committee Chairman Doug Bereuter made this distinction specific as he noted at length:

> During the cold war, America and the U.S.S.R had large nuclear arsenals, but they were separated by 10,000 miles. India and Pakistan on the other hand have a long border with important parts of it contested. In addition, where the United States and the Soviet Union have never actually fought a war in fact – and were allies during World War II – India and Pakistan have fought three wars in the past 50 years. And the warning time for an attack is almost nonexistent.[66]

The above paragraph follows after references to the Cuban Missile Crisis when the world was on a nuclear brink. However, India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence even surpassed the missile crisis due to the 'strategic instability' which marred the region.[67] In a way, the narrative that sets the US apart from India in terms of the US-Soviet Union/India-Pakistan nuclear experience indicates what Campbell terms as not simply geopolitical but also a representation in cultural and ideological terms. The danger of the Soviet Union for the United States was not merely military but cultural as well and under these circumstances through the policy of containment and mutual assured destruction, it was imperative for the successive US administrations to maintain political regimes that favoured the United States.[68] Nuclear weapons, in this sense, attained a political significance for the United States as opposed to being restricted to purely military logic where extended deterrence to NATO countries and the ability to deliver massive retaliation were deemed essential to maintain international stability. This was very much unlike India-Pakistan, whose nuclear deterrence was assumed to be purely military in nature and thereby potentially more dangerous and unstable. The representation of India as the 'other' as a part of India-Pakistan duo thus inherently made it unequal to the US within the US-Soviet Union duo, where the latter's nuclear capability was represented to have been important for the

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Pakistan's surprise missile launch', *The Washington Times*, 15 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.

[66] Chairman Doug Bereuter, 'India-Pakistan Nuclear Proliferation', Hearing before the Subcommittee on the Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 105th Congress, 2nd Session, 18 June 1998, see p. 1, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13.

[67] *Ibid*.

[68] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p, 25. Also see for general discussion, John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

maintenance of global nuclear order. Towards this end, National Security Advisor Sandy Berger remarked at a Press Briefing in Birmingham, England on 16 May 1998 that while the US and Russia had made enormous 'progress' in controlling nuclear weapons India's decision to test presented a step 'backward'. He claimed that 'backsliders' like India were 'swimming against the tide'.[69] The progressive/regressive, forward/backward dichotomies utilised racial identity wherein India was inherently the unequal 'other' in nuclear matters. The dangerous component to the India-Pakistan deterrence relationship meant the region could only achieve stability in the event the five-benchmarks were implemented. Thomas Pickering recalled the merits of 'five-benchmarks' in a personal interview as he noted:

> India attempted struggle with 'credible minimum deterrent' and never had a resolution and to some extent it was dependent upon Pakistan doing the same thing, and each were building weapons pretty fast. So it was in a way a miniature process of what happened to the US and the Soviet Union except by the 70s we began to understand that it was not getting anywhere. And we had to slow it down, stop it and then begin and move back.[70]

On the Talbot-Singh dialogue and the policy of moving towards 'cap' and 'roll-back', Ambassador Pickering noted:

> After the tests, certainly a very heavy role was presumed in the discussions about things that might be useful in reducing the potential of nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan, things like moving the delivery vehicles away from the borders, de-mating weapons and delivery vehicles, certain kinds of systems that could be set up to avoid surprise or accidents.[71]

The five benchmarks, therefore, represented an optimum solution to reduce nuclear tensions on the subcontinent. A process that mimicked, albeit on a much smaller scale, the effort by the US and USSR to tame the nuclear-military escalation so as to avoid catastrophe at the peak of the Cold War. The experience of the 'self' in nuclear management as opposed to the inexperience of the 'other' in such matters meant the 'self' could justifiably proclaim that the

[69] 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Sandy Berger and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Crime, Narcotics, and Law Enforcement Jonathan Winer', Metropole Hotel, Birmingham, England, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 16 May 1998, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office – Press Releases Master Set, 18 April 1998 –18 May 1998, OA Number - 40821, Box 56.
[70] Personal Interview with Ambassador Tom Pickering on 24 April 2013.
[71] *Ibid*.

'other' should not embark on a disastrous path. As Secretary Madeleine Albright remarked in her statement in the White House Rose Garden in 1998 that since the United States and Russia had been down on the nuclear road, 'we are in a unique position to say don't go there'.[72]

The prescriptive action to which India-Pakistan had to adhere was largely supported by the claim that the US (and other nuclear weapons states) had a 'special responsibility' to protect the viability of the non-proliferation regime. As Albright noted in the same speech: 'The NPT will not be amended to accommodate either country', adding further: 'On this critical issue at this perilous time, American leadership should be unambiguous, decisive and clear'.[73] When placed within the context of the larger discourse of convincing India to sign the CTBT and the ensuing five benchmarks, India's refusal to do so was presented as a sign of 'immaturity' and 'irresponsibility', quite opposite to the qualities of adult patriarch, who often display remarkable understanding of tough issues. President Clinton implored the neighbours of India to sign the CTBT and 'set a strong example of responsibility'.[74] Nawaz Sharif, then Pakistani Prime Minister was called upon to practice patience and 'not to respond to an irresponsible act in kind'.[75] Similarly, while advising Pakistan to show restraint, Senator Jesse Helms postulated, that either Pakistan could be a partner of the United States '…or a schoolyard rival to India'.[76] In other instances, India was advised to be a 'responsible grown-up' and that it had failed to act with 'maturity'.[77] The dynamics of the identity framed by the qualities of 'self' as the parent

[72] 'Secretary's Rose Garden Statement on India-Pakistan', Clinton Presidential Library Records, National Security Council, Anthony Blinken Speechwriting, 2006-0459-F OP6N, Box 36 and 39.
[73] *Ibid*.
[74] 'President William Jefferson Clinton Radio Address', Birmingham, England, 16 May 1998, Clinton Presidential Library Records, National Security Council, Anthony Blinken Speechwriting, 2006-0459-F OP6N, Box 36 and 39.
[75] Clinton quoted in Susan Page, 'US slaps sanctions as India defiantly detonates 2 more tests', *USA Today*, 14 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[76] Jesse Helms quoted in Daniela Deane, 'Volleys of condemnation bounce off India defiant nation turns inward for support', *USA Today*, 14 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[77] Patrick Moynihan, Former Ambassador to India, cited in Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 56. Moynihan made similar statements in public. See Aziz Haniffa, 'US Adopts a Carrot-and-Stick Policy toward India', *India Abroad*, 12 June 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.

(father) and India as the 'other' (child) was also maintained through the discourse of punishment. For instance, Talbott expounded that on the matters of non-proliferation: 'I had the job of scolding India for what it had done'.[78] Apart from the central signifier of 'responsibility', the narrative of comparative deterrence stability/instability also utilised identity trope of rationality/irrationality. As per the official statements, the Indian (and Pakistani) nuclear tests demonstrated 'nutty', 'crazy', 'insensible' and 'unwise' decisions.[79] To the gravity of the situation and India's incomprehension bordering almost on insanity and craziness was brought to light by the statements of Madeleine Albright who advised India to 'stop, listen and think',[80] instead of heading on a path which was nothing but irrational. Considering India's quest to become a nuclear power and Pakistan's aim to follow the stride, Clinton described the actions as insane for he noted: 'It is a nutty way to go. It is not the way to chart the future'.[81] Thus both masculinities in terms of an assertive father figure and male virtue of rationality were utilised through this narrative to establish the relations of self versus other through which the role of 'self' as an arbiter of the global nuclear order was reconstituted. It is important to bring in here Amy Kaplan's observation of discourse of American Imperialism in the 1890s that redefined the national power as *disembodied* - that is, divorced from the contiguous territorial expansion. In the same period, masculine identity was also reconceived as *embodied* – i.e., cultivated in the muscular robust physique. With the end of the continental expansion, national power was no longer assumed to be synonymous with the incorporation of new territory, rather, leadership and influence in less tangible networks of international market and international politics attained significance.[82] As Kaplan explains:

[78] Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 135.
[79] Clinton quoted in Peter Grier, 'Asia Forces New US Game Plan', *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13. 'The UN deplored Pakistan's testing', *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13.
[80] Albright quoted in Bill Nicholas, 'Nuclear powers urge nations 'to think'', *USA Today*, 5 June 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13.
[81] President Clinton quoted in Grier, 'Asia Forces New US Game Plan'.
[82] Amy Kaplan, 'Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s', in Amritjit Singh and Peter Schmidt eds., *Postcolonial theory and the United States: Race, Ethnicity and Literature* (University Press of Mississippi, 2000), p. 222.

'Disembodiment might describe the cultural fantasy underlying what historians have called the economically determined 'informal empire', the desire for total control disentangled from direct political annexation'.[83] The Clinton administration's comparative narrative displayed instances of disembodied masculinity. While the techno-strategic language of 'rationality' and 'decisiveness' reinforced the link between masculinity and American identity, the historically contingent construction of 'responsibility' as guided by the duties of fatherhood, displayed the disembodied nature of American masculinity aiming at influencing nuclear policies in the South Asian subcontinent.

Apart from geopolitical-cultural considerations, resource constraints on 'developing' countries in terms of maintaining safety or even an arms race was brought into focus. In the Hearings before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific in the 105th Congress on 18 June 1998, the lack of resources in both countries in terms of maintaining adequate information and safeguards was emphasised:

> The United States and Soviet Union spent many hundreds of billions of dollars on redundant fail-safe procedures to prevent accidental or unauthorised launches. India and Pakistan, on the other hand, have scant resources to devote to such safeguards. Moreover, the quality of information and intelligence available to South Asian decisionmakers is uneven. For example, it seems that Pakistan may have rushed to conduct its second round of tests because of widespread rumors of impending attack, possibly from India, possibly from Israel. In a situation where there is such a level of distrust, the absence of good information can be devastating.[84]

Combined with the effects of the sanctions, it was predicted, that the Indian economy would not be able to sustain the nuclear programme due to the 'economic burden' and the 'price tag' that accompanies weapons programmes.[85] In his remarks in the Rose Garden, Clinton called

[83] *Ibid*.
[84] 'India-Pakistan Nuclear Proliferation', Hearing before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, 105th Congress, p. 2.
[85] Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 95. 'Albright to India and Pakistan: 'Cool it", *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, 3 June 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13. John F. Burns, 'Proceedings and Debates of the 104th Congress', 2nd Session, Congressional Record, House of Representatives – Friday, 26 January 1996, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13. Statement by Karl Inderfurth, 'Crisis in South Asia', p. 8. 'Press Briefing by Secretary of the State Madeleine Albright', Maurya Sheraton Hotel, New Delhi, India, 21 March 2000, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office-Press Releases, Master Set, 11 March 2000 –31 March

the tests 'self-defeating, wasteful and dangerous' which would make the people of India and Pakistan 'poorer and less secure'.[86] Similarly, in a briefing on 28 May 1998, Deputy Secretary Talbott alluded that the 'economic dimension' to security had to be taken into consideration by India-Pakistan as both countries had large populations living in 'poverty' and thus under no circumstance could they 'afford an arms race'.[87] This narrative placed the United States in a 'developed' category, which unlike India had been in a comparatively better off economic position to be able to maintain a sustained arms race during the Cold War with its then arch-rival, the Soviet Union. Similarly, in 1995 when there was a heightened possibility that India would conduct tests, Ambassador Frank G. Wisner gave P.V. Narasimha Rao, the Indian Prime Minister, a sobering account of the cost to the US of its own nuclear arsenal which was as much as $100 million for every missile deployed. As Wisner recounted: 'I told him, that kind of money would buy a lot of clinics and schools'.[88] This position remained consistent until the end of the Clinton administration's tenure.

While the official administration narrative sought to redefine the self-other relations as unequal through the comparative narrative of the US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence stability/instability, counter-narratives both in domestic and bilateral terrains attempted to undo the discursive links between US-Soviet Union 'deterrence' and 'stability'. Directly contradicting the statements of India-Pakistan deterrence instability, realist scholar Kenneth Waltz proclaimed that the 'hypocrisy of America's position is astonishing', further adding, 'when we and the Russians have done far more tests over the years than we had any scientific

2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78. Richard Celeste quoted in 'Nuclear worries increasing with fighting in Kashmir', *St. Petersburg Times*, 1 August 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.

[86] 'President William Jefferson Clinton remarks on MFN and South Asia'.

[87] 'On-the-Record Briefing, Deputy Secretary Talbott on India and Pakistan', Washington D.C., US Department of State, Office of Spokesman, 28 May 1998, Clinton Presidential Records, National Security Council, Anthony Blinken Speechwriting, 2006-0459-F OP6N, Box 36 and Box 39.

[88] Statement by Frank Wisner, Ambassador to India 1994-1997, quoted in John F. Burns, 'The World: Riding the Tiger; India Charts a Pariah's Path to Glory', *The New York Times*, 17 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 19/05/13.

or technical reason to do'.[89] In support of nuclear deterrence Waltz contended, the 'principles' that kept peace between the superpowers during the Cold War would keep peace wherever nuclear deterrence spreads. The ideology and culture of new nuclear countries was irrelevant because nuclear weapons defined those who possessed them.[90] John J. Mearsheimer, a realist science professor at the University of Chicago and a Waltz disciple, similarly argued that 'a conflict between them is less likely if they openly have nuclear weapons than without them'.[91] Challenging the parent/child identity dynamics, Stephen P. Cohen of the Brookings Institution, mentioned in Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that too often the US treated both India and Pakistan as 'immature' and 'irresponsible' due to serious political and military mistakes in the past. However, these mistakes were committed by other major powers, including the United States itself.[92] In this sense, the United States rather than being 'responsible' was also tainted with irresponsible qualities.

Furthermore, the western discourse of 'realism' and 'deterrence' was skilfully utilised by Indian elites to frame India as a 'realistic' country that was purely bent upon security and not an arms race. Objections were raised about the framing of the subcontinent as 'the most dangerous place in the world' and Kashmir as a 'nuclear flashpoint' as comparisons were drawn between the minimal number of weapons present on the South Asian subcontinent, as opposed to the large stockpile of weapons under the possession of the United States and Russia which was sufficient to destroy the world 'many times over'.[93] Moreover, as per the balance of

[89] Waltz quoted in Judith Miller, 'Nuclear minefield of what to do', *The New York Times*, 6 June 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[90] Waltz quoted in Peter Beinart, 'Learning to live, with nuclear weapons: When India tested its nuclear capability on 11 May, it meant foreign policy once more must take into account this fact: Those who possess the bomb hold the fate of large chunks of humanity in their hands', *The Globe and Mail*, 25 July 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.
[91] Mearsheimer quoted in Miller, 'Nuclear minefield of what to do', *The New York Times*.
[92] Statement of Stephen P. Cohen, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, the Brookings Institution Washington D.C., in 'Political/Military Developments in India', Hearing before the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 106th Congress, 25 May 1999, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13.
[93] Cited in Jane Perlez, 'US and India, Trying to Reconcile, Hit Bump', *The New York Times*, 22 March 2000, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13. Also see comments made by President Narayanan in, 'Remarks by President Clinton and President of India in exchange of Toasts', Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi, India.

power theory, in the aftermath of the Cold War it was contended that new alignments had emerged along with new geopolitical vacuums. While areas from Europe to Asia-Pacific and North America are secure under nuclear deterrence, such deterrence was explicitly missing in South Asia and therefore could be a cause for concern. All India had done, it was claimed, was to 'fill this vacuum'.[94] The 'credible minimum deterrent' policy of India could thus create stability between India and Pakistan as opposed to disharmony and an arms race. The counter-narrative carefully established that nuclear deterrence was not only helpful, but also necessary to maintain any sort of conflict from widening in Kashmir. This narrative drew parallels between the US-Soviet Union deterrence stability and India-Pakistan stability, in which the latter was framed as extremely stable just like the former, as opposed to being unstable. The absence of a large stockpile of weapons on the South Asian subcontinent indicated that the assertion of an arms race was problematic, and could not be compared to the arms race that had at times spiralled out of control between the Soviet Union and the United States. Moreover in order to undo the parent/child dichotomy, Western reactions were described as 'patronising condescension' for it was proclaimed: 'We [India-Pakistan] are not two problem children. We have agreement; our leaders talk to each other'.[95] The historical Western grand-narrative that has a tendency to frame 'East' as childlike, immature, and irrational was thus challenged by the counter-narratives of the Indian elites through the process of narrative struggle.

By the time of Clinton's visit to India, the effects of narrative struggle were apparent as some transitions were made in the official dictum, yet the essence of pre-2000 narratives was reinforced. Thus, narrative power ensured a hegemonic position of certain narrative tropes as alternative ways of addressing the other were largely discredited. For instance, in his address

[94] Jaswant Singh, 'Against Nuclear Apartheid', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 5, Sep-Oct 1998, pp. 41-52. Jaswant quoted in Barbara Crossette, 'Why India Thinks Atomic Equation Has Changed', *The New York Times*, 15 June 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[95] An Indian official quoted in Ian McPhedran, 'Back to the brink', *The Advertiser*, 30 May 1998 database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13.

to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament on 22 March 2000, Clinton acknowledged in the opening lines of his speech:

> Only India can determine its own interests. Only India can know if it truly is safer today than before the tests. Only India can determine if it will benefit from expanding its nuclear and missile capabilities, if its neighbors respond by doing the same thing. Only India knows if it can afford a sustained investment in both conventional and nuclear forces while meeting its goals for human development. These are questions others may ask, but only you can answer.[96]

The assertion that 'only India' could determine its own interests leads to an initial appraisal of the other's decision-making qualities and ability, yet in the following lines, the concentration shifted to the stability of US-Soviet Union deterrence and the nuclear war that was averted thus reverting to the narrative of stability/instability as Clinton further notes:

> We were geographically distant from the Soviet Union. We were not engaged in direct armed combat. Through years of direct dialogue with our adversary, we each had a very good idea of the other's capabilities, doctrines, and intentions. We each spent billions of dollars on elaborate command and control systems, for nuclear weapons are not cheap. And yet, in spite of all of this we came far too close to nuclear war. We learned that deterrence alone cannot be relied on to prevent accident or miscalculation. And in a nuclear standoff, there is nothing more dangerous than believing there is no danger.[97]

The India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence instability was thus highlighted again through an emphasis on geographical proximity, the historical animosity, the lack of dialogue, the lack of sound command and control systems, and scarce economic resources, which made the Indian subcontinent less secure. The signing of the CTBT and negotiations concerning a treaty to end the production of fissile material were considered by the Clinton administration to be the greatest priorities in maintaining the global nuclear order and reducing the likelihood of a nuclear war, such that the adoption by India (and Pakistan) of the regime of 'restraint' epitomised by the five-benchmarks was deemed essential. As Robert Einhorn, Assistant Secretary for Non-Proliferation (1999-2001) recalled in a personal interview:

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[96] 'Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament', New Delhi, India, Released by the Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, 22 March 2000, http://www.state.gov/1997-2001-NOPDFS/regions/sa/000322_pres_india.html (Accessed on 09/05/13).
[97] 'Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament'.

> We considered them (five-benchmarks) reasonable otherwise we wouldn't have put them forward. We were not insisting on rollback. We were not asking for a rollback. I don't know how rollback crept into our rhetoric. So we were not asking for a rollback, we were not asking for India to join the NPT or rollback its capability. What we were asking for was restraint. And so these five elements were an indication of what we meant by restraint.[98]

Einhorn further added:

> We always believed that India was responsible. That it was a responsible steward of its nuclear assets. That it would act wisely and responsibly. But we were concerned that if India did not truly exercise restraint, if not truly seeking only a credible minimum deterrent, that it could lead to not just adverse reactions in Pakistan but everywhere else. And so for the sake of the global non-proliferation regime we were hoping that India would see our five proposed steps as consistent with Indian national security.[99]

Like Clinton's narrative of not truly doubting the wisdom and decision making capability of the 'other', Einhorn's narrative account presents a contradiction. In the absence of visible 'restraint', the 'other' was not truly exercising responsibility or wisdom and by this instance was still irrational and unwise. Accordingly, in response to the claims of Indian actors that the tests had ushered in a period of stability between the two regional powers akin to the US and the Soviet Union during Cold War, Tom Pickering remarked:

> I think that it is a serious exaggeration. I think that the five points which Strobe laid down would have been a very good basis for saying that they had achieved some stability. I don't think that stability alone was an appropriate answer but would play a big role in moving things ahead. With more understanding now and perhaps more adoption of the points and the issues that had to be treated by the points there was hope for moving things on. But I worry that if there were a conflict, the uncertainties about decision making in Pakistan would raise problems. And we don't know about the decision making in India either.[100]

The comparative narrative of US-USSR deterrence stability and India-Pakistan deterrence instability acquired major importance as overt nuclearisation of the subcontinent presented new challenges to the formal continuation of NPT- led global nuclear order, which was inextricably tied to American great power identity. However, a means to maintain the sense of self was facilitated by the incorporation of radical otherness when comparing India-Pakistan deterrence

[98] Personal Interview with Robert Einhorn on 29 May 2013.
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] Personal Interview with Tom Pickering.

stability from geographical/spatial and economic viewpoints that utilised identity tropes of race, political economy and gender. The narrative of democracy, as examined below, continued with relations of identity/difference that enabled the US 'self' to sustain itself in time (now) and space (here) through utilisation of temporal and spatial themes.

'Greatness' in relation to the Clinton administration's understanding of democratic principles that define America

Historically, the narrative of democracy has played a central role in the American definition of the 'self', especially so in the nuclear domain, whereby the 'imperial' and 'totalitarian' Soviet Union 'other' posed grave danger to world stability. The 'democratic' America that stood for 'freedom' and 'equality' and against 'slavery' posed no threat to the stability of the world despite being a nuclear power. With the overt nuclearisation of India in 1998, the narrative of democracy was again reutilised in order to differentiate the US 'self' from the Indian 'other', however, *greatness* as an identity trope was also increasingly linked to the virtues of democracy. A democracy that was 'great' engaged in 'dialogue', was 'forward' thinking, and owed 'special responsibility' to world peace and stability. The narrative of democracy with a distinct focus on 'greatness' enabled the actors in Clinton administration to retain a marked distinction between self and other, as the former's ability to sustain and restore the NPT-led global nuclear order remained unquestioned despite the turbulence on the Indian subcontinent.

Greatness was explicitly described in US elite discourse as the ability to shape and guide the world in a right and a fruitful direction.[101] As per this logic, the decision to conduct nuclear tests by India and its aversion to the CTBT was termed as being 'worst', 'wrong', 'backward', 'foolish', 'unjustified', 'dark', 'dangerous' and 'regressive' that risked pushing the international global nuclear order and thereby the safety of the world into an 'abyss'.[102] These

[101] Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1987). Also see, McCrisken, *American Exceptionalism and the Legacy of Vietnam: US Foreign Policy since 1974*.
[102] 'Radio Address by the President to the Nation', The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 16 May 1998, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office, Press Releases, Master Set, 18 April 1998 –18 May 1998, OA

sentiments were echoed by Clinton in his remarks to the Pool at the Hyatt Hotel, Birmingham England, on 17 May 1998 as he hoped that this testing would be an isolated event and India should sign the CTB. 'The worst conceivable result…' as he went on to note:

> …would be for everybody that's ever worked on this to think they ought to conduct some sort of test and that this is now – it's sort of the new measure of either national security or *national greatness*. That's a terrible signal for the rest of us to send the world, especially when the Russians and we are doing our very best to put everything in the opposite direction and to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world.[103] (Emphasis added).

In a similar manner, Karl Inderfurth, the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs (1997-2001), elicited in the Hearing before the Subcommittee on 13 May 1998:

> We continue to respect India as a complex, democratic society, and we wish neither to diminish India's achievements nor underestimate its potential. But we regret deeply that its current leaders believe that they must detonate nuclear weapons in order to be taken seriously as a nation.[104]

The construction of racial difference through the narrative of democracy as underpinned by greatness sets the US apart and in opposition to India by creating the identity for the self. If greatness was defined by the ability to shape time, being progressive and taking right decisions to perpetuate global stability, then by this theory the Americans contributed immensely in shaping the stability of the world through careful crafting of dialogues with Russia for the implementation of START I and II, and the proper disposal of nuclear weapons in the former

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Number - 40821, Box 56. 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Samuel Berger', Radisson SAS Hotel, Berlin, Germany, 13 May 1998, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Berlin, Germany, Clinton Presidential Records Master Set, 18 April 1998 –18 May 1998, OA Number - 40821, Box 56. 'Videotaped Remarks by the President to Carnegie Nonproliferation Conference', The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 16 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records Press Releases, Master Set, 4 March 2000 –31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78. John B. Ritch III, US ambassador to the UN, quoted in William Drozdiak, 'Nuclear Bomb Seen as Fading Status Symbol', *The Washington Post*, 5 July 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 13/05/13. 'President William Clinton Jefferson Clinton Remarks on MFN and South Asia', 3 June 1998. James Bennet, 'Nuclear Anxiety: The President; Clinton Calls Tests a 'Terrible Mistake' and Announces Sanctions against India', *The New York Times*, 14 May 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.

[103] 'Remarks by the President to the Pool', Outside of Hyatt Hotel, Birmingham, England, 17 May 1998, Clinton Presidential Records Master Set, Press Office, Press Releases, Master Set, 18 April 1998 –18 May 1998, OA Number - 40821, Box 56.

[104] Statement of Hon. Karl F. Inderfurth, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, in 'Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests; India and Pakistan: What Next?' p. 13.

Soviet Union member states. The President recounted America was on the 'right' and 'progressive' side as he reiterated in a Radio Address on 16 May 1998:

> Building on the work of the Reagan and Bush Administrations, we entered the START I treaty into force and ratified START II. When Russia's parliament approves START II, we will be on course to cut American and Russian arsenals by 2/3rds from the Cold War height. We worked with Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan to return to Russia the nuclear weapons left on their land when the Soviet Union broke apart.[105]

In the above paragraphs, the trope 'greatness' is linked to the democratic ability of the country to negotiate fruitful arms control measures. The reference to the past, in terms of successive US administrations' effort to engender global nuclear arms control through START I and II, was co-related to the current efforts by the Clinton administration to continue with arms control measures through the enactment of START II. While India's 'vibrant democracy' and 'world's largest middle class' was its 'great strength', the future with nuclear weapons by this implication depicted weakness.[106] By signing the CTBT immediately without conditions, India was called upon to set a 'strong example of responsibility' for the world.[107] The narrative of democracy with emphasis on the US nuclear role in the past, present and prospective future, utilised racial and gender difference through Foreign Policy texts wherein the 'self' was depicted as 'progressive', 'right' and 'responsible' thus re-scripting historical texts that delimited the democratic empire composed of Anglo-Saxons who had a special responsibility to direct the growth and the future of democratic nations. The supposed fixity and 'deep structuring' of a sovereign presence, and the resultant 'hard core' homogeneity and continuity of meaning ascribed to a text, therefore, has to be grasped as a problematical historical effect.[108]

It could be argued 'democracy' and 'greatness' achieved significant importance as actors in the Clinton administration actively compared the spread of nuclear weapons to *fascism,* and the

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[105] 'President William Jefferson Clinton Radio Address', Birmingham, England, 16 May 1998. Also see, statement by US Ambassador to India Richard Frank Celeste, 'Indian News Agency Reports US Envoy's Lack of Trust on Nuclear Weapon Use', *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, 1 August 1998, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[106] 'President William Jefferson Clinton Radio Address'.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] Ashley, 'Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', p. 233.

NPT explicitly with *democracy* that sought to end the confrontation between the East and the West forever.[109] The temporal dimension of danger was maintained by a comparison with fascism and how the nuclear danger constitutes a menace like fascism, because the 'evil' ambitions have still not disappeared. Just as allied forces (all democratic nations) were necessary to end fascism, the indefinite extension of NPT as a commitment to confront nuclear danger and proliferation attains a massive significance, whereby the 'community of nations' will remain steadfast in opposing the dangerous spread of weapons.[110] The comparison of democratic tradition with the virtues of the NPT underscores what Partha Chatterjee and Ira Katznelson term as the understanding of democracy in the American psyche as the 'equality of conditions', marked by such condition as economy to all citizens, individual ethos and a government based on civil freedom, a wide suffrage and political representation which symbolises the egalitarian nature of the society. Through this comparison, America was treated simultaneously as a highly distinctive and even exceptional country yet also a harbinger of things to come. The United States is thus situated in place and time not as a hermetically sealed 'case' but as relationally inscribed in three senses. First, its own history and special qualities of institutions, values and demography that are composed of relationship to the experiences of other countries. Second, its development is situated in relation to larger trends and processes that affect the modern western world more generally, especially those of social and political equalisation. Third, America as the first egalitarian regime is presented as the most important cause shaping the prospects, choices and trajectories of other countries.[111] Through the interpretation of the NPT, the American self was inscribed relationally in all three senses.

[109] Emphasis added. 'Statement by the President on Extension of NPT', The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 11 May 1995, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office, Press Release Subject File, OA Number - 8692, Box 14.
[110] Partha Chatterjee and Ira Katznelson, 'The Anxieties of Democracy', in Partha Chatterjee and Ira Katznelson eds., *Anxieties of Democracy: Tocquevillean Reflections on India and the United States* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 3.
[111] Chatterjee and Katznelson, 'The Anxieties of Democracy', p. 8.

Counter-narratives, both domestically and bilaterally, sought to redefine 'we-ness'. While domestically it was purported through renegotiation of the 'self' as opposed to 'rogue' and 'friendly' other(s), bilaterally Indian actors sought to link 'India' with 'democracy' and 'freedom' as opposed to 'primitivism' in order to undo the charge that India was regressive and bent upon causing nuclear instability. William Schneider Jr., President of International Planning Services Inc., and Former Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology under Reagan, exclaimed that there was 'inconsistency' in the way the US treated friends and adversaries and the 'policy has been counterproductive, as can be illustrated by the fact that we supply or are prepared to supply a nuclear reactor to North Korea but are unprepared to provide these kinds of things to India and Pakistan'.[112] Similarly, Newt Gingrich, then Speaker of the US House of Representatives, while criticising the policies of China's sale of missile technology to Pakistan and Iran conceded: 'Look how angry he [Clinton] is at democracy and how tolerant he is of a dictatorship'.[113] In a Hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, on 23 March 2000, Ronald F. Lehman, Former Director of Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, explicitly called upon the need 'to develop a strategy for the modern age', because India was not a 'rogue' like North Korea and did not violate the NPT.[114] In a similar vein, in a Hearing before the House Subcommittee of Asia and the Pacific, on 20 October 1999, Selig S. Harrison, Woodrow Wilson Institute Senior Scholar and Fellow, called for putting an end to sanctions on both India and Pakistan while proclaiming that US interests in South Asia should take into consideration the striking contrast between 'democratic' India which was 'stable' and an 'unstable' Pakistan with a military

[112] Statement of Hon. William Schneider Jr., President, International Planning Services, and Former Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology, Washington D.C., in 'Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests; India and Pakistan: What Next?', p. 74.
[113] Newt Gingrich quoted in James Bennet, 'Nuclear Anxiety: The President Clinton Calls Tests a 'Terrible Mistake' and Announces Sanctions against India'.
[114] Statement by Ronald F. Lehman, Former Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 'The Formulation of Effective Nonproliferation Policy', Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 106th Congress, 2nd Session, 23 March 2000, pp. 85-88, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13.

'dictatorship'.[115] The linking of India with 'democracy' as opposed to 'rogue' and 'dictatorship' demonstrated a struggle of counter-narratives to re-inscribe the relations of 'self' and 'other', wherein India, rather than being 'regressive', 'wrong', 'irresponsible' or 'foolish', was ultimately a democratic country. The alternative forms of 'we-ness' depicted a focus on 'democracy' leading to the renunciation of radical otherness. The 'other' held similar traits as that of 'self', and hence, policy options should have been different.

In an effort to present alternative forms of representations, the counter-narrative of Indian actors combined linguistic resources through a focus on self as 'democracy', which was markedly different from Pakistan as the other. The relation of self versus other enabled the actors in the BJP government to present the future role of India as a 'democracy' in the nuclear domain through re-appropriation of the past. For instance, in a Joint Press Statement with Clinton on 21 March 2000, Vajpayee used terms like the 'world's two largest democracies', 'principles and practice of democracy constitutes the bedrock of our relations and for our co-operative efforts internationally for peace, prosperity and democratic freedom'.[116] The reference to common democratic principles targeted attention towards the similar rather than different nature of both India and the US. Thus India was not different when in the interest of the nation it sought to retain a 'minimum nuclear deterrent'. While neither 'engaging in a nuclear arms race' and neither being the 'first to use nuclear weapons against any country', Vajpayee further reiterated that India would continue dialogue with other countries to 'help bring about a peaceful and secure world completely free of threat of all weapons of mass destruction'.[117] The peaceful nature of democratic India was thus juxtaposed with the past efforts of the country to bring about universal disarmament, a practice that would also be

[115] Statement of Selig S. Harrison, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Institute and Fellow, The Century Foundation, 'Regional Security in South Asia', Hearing before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, 106th Congress, 1st Session, 20 October 1999, pp. 35-36, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13.
[116] 'Remarks by the President and Prime Minister Vajpayee of India in Joint Press Statement', Hyderabad House, New Delhi, India, 21 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78.
[117] *Ibid.*

continued in the future. In an effort to distance the self from 'barbarism' and 'primitivism', in the same speech, reference was made to a massacre of 36 Sikhs in Jammu and Kashmir, as Vajpayee noted, 'the entire civilized community is outraged at this premeditated act of barbarism, and joins us in condemning this act'.[118] In the following lines, an indirect reference was made to Pakistan as the PM further noted: 'We and the international community reject the notion that Jihad can be a part of any civilized country's foreign policy'.[119] The subtle reference to Pakistan as 'uncivilised' and 'barbaric' created a demarcation between India and Pakistan, contrary to the Clinton administration's penchant to lump the two countries together. The counter-narratives of Indian elites thus sought to reconstitute the interpretation of self amidst a charge that India was not serious about world stability or peace despite being a democracy.

The intersubjective nature of narrative identity formation meant that India's democratic nature was appreciated on many occasions during Clinton's visit, but the linking of 'greatness' with 'democracy' was not abandoned, as the difference between 'self' and 'other' was further perpetuated. For instance, the discourse of Clinton administration actors utilised terms such as 'vibrant democracy', 'natural allies', 'we want democracy to spread', 'want friendship with India', and 'strong partnership' to build a better world.[120] However, these representations of the 'other' were increasingly used in conjunction with what the role and duty of a 'great' nation was. In his remarks to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament on 22 March 2000, Clinton noted:

> India is a leader, a great nation, which by virtue of its size, its achievements and its example, has the ability to shape the character of our time. For any of us, to claim that mantle and assert that status is to accept first and foremost that our actions have consequences for others beyond our borders. Great nations with broad horizons must consider whether actions advance or hinder what Nehru called the larger cause of humanity.

[118] 'Remarks by the President and Prime Minister Vajpayee of India in Joint Press Statement'.
[119] *Ibid*.
[120] 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, Deputy National Economic Advisor Lael Brainard, and Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Rick Inderfurth', The James S. Brady Briefing Room, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 16 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 21 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78. Clinton's remarks in 'Remarks by the President and Prime Minister Vajpayee of India in Joint Press Statement'.

> So India's nuclear policies, inevitably, have consequences beyond your borders: eroding the barriers against the spread of nuclear weapons, discouraging nations that have chosen to foreswear these weapons, encouraging others to keep their options open. But if India's nuclear test shook the world, India's leadership for non-proliferation can certainly move the world.[121]

In the above paragraphs, while acknowledging the 'great' qualities of India, 'greatness' is especially linked to the ability to determine the fate of humanity. Arguably, in this sense, the 'other' had failed and it was only through leadership of non-proliferation that India could exhibit such capability. In his interview with Peter Jennings of *ABC World News* on 22 March 2000, Clinton was much more direct with this representation of self versus other with regard to India's nuclear ability:

> And we believe that it sends a bad signal when a great democracy like India, in effect, is telling the world that we ought to get into another arms race.[122]

While the 'other' necessarily sends a 'bad signal' as a great democracy, the role of the 'self' is sustained in form of a great democracy, because the self was in the process of trying to make the 'world more stable' through the reduction of nuclear weapons. As opposed to the similarities between two nations, as emphasised by the Indian actors, there were major dissimilarities in the nuclear domain, wherein the 'self' was striving to reduce the nuclear weapons while the 'other' was still bent upon acquiring nuclear capability and subsequently making the world more unstable. Moreover, in a direct contradiction to the charge of Indian elites in terms of India being a 'democracy' as opposed to Pakistan being 'uncivilised' or 'barbaric', Clinton exclaimed in his remarks to the Parliament that India as a 'democracy' had a special opportunity to show its neighbours that 'democracy is about dialogue', and about 'building working relationships among people who differ'.[123] This statement directed attention towards the role that 'self' had played in the environment of bipolar politics, where ideologies

[121] 'Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament', 22 March 2000.
[122] 'Interview of the President by Peter Jennings, ABC World News', Maurya Sheraton Hotel, New Delhi, India, 21 March 2000, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, New Delhi, India, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, Box 78.
[123] 'Remarks by the President and Prime Minister Vajpayee of India in Joint Press Statement'.

greatly differed, yet America could proactively engage with Russia - a demonstration of how 'democracy' was indeed about dialogue and not confrontation. Thus the narrative of democracy with a focus on 'greatness' enabled the actors in the Clinton administration to maintain a marked difference between the self and other through identity markers of 'race' and 'gender' with which it became possible to enact policies of sanctions, five-benchmarks, and CTBT which emphasised nuclear restraint. The narrative of a struggling economy enabled the administration to locate the US self as a 'developed' nation through politics of representation and difference as examined below.

A 'struggling' economy on to the path of reforms

The narrative of economic progress has played a pivotal role in the construction and preservation of US identity as a 'developed' nation engendering distinct politico-economic understanding of the self through which relations with other(s) is negotiated. Historically, it enabled the Eisenhower administration to promote Atoms for Peace in order to alleviate the conditions of 'poverty' and 'unrest' in 'less developed countries'. Through Atoms for Peace, it was argued the global South could essentially replicate prosperity akin to 'capitalist' America. In the initial years of bilateral bonhomie, assistance to India in the nuclear realm was presented on the basis of helping an 'underdeveloped' country. However, in succeeding years India's attempts at acquiring weapons capability was framed in terms of an inability of 'poor' and 'underdeveloped' country to venture on this path as it would face significant repercussion in terms of 'economic downturn'. As seen above, the adverse effect of the arms race economically was a crucial differentiating factor in the narrative of US-Soviet Union/India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence stability/instability. With overt nuclearisation, this difference in 'political economy' was re-utilised. Albeit new forms of demarcation between 'old' and post-reform 'new' India economy were incorporated to continue with the overarching nuclear policy of sanctions and the five-benchmarks.

That India should not take the nuclear path was mainly accredited to the economy of India which was constructed as 'crumbling', 'tangled in economic knots', where 'disease and misery are rampant' and the Indian Government was merely deluded that possession of nuclear weapons would make them a 'superpower', when in reality millions of people in India were in 'abject poverty'.[124] Other terms used to describe the Indian economy were 'statist', 'sclerotic economy' which was beginning to revitalise through liberal reforms, 'top-down', 'command and control', 'autarkical', 'aid-dependent' country, 'unshackling itself from the economic baggage', and thus India's nuclear policies were promoting wasteful use of resources.[125] The representation of India's central control of the economy was likened to 'colonial rule' and its debilitating characteristics. For instance, Raymond Vickery, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade and Development (1993-1997), likened the persistent problem of Indian bureaucracy to the colonial administration as he recalled in his memoir:

> Perhaps this difficulty is the historical hangover of an Indian bureaucracy originally structured to run a colonial administration or a top-down, command-and-control economy. Even where reforms have been successful in allowing or moving economic activity into the private sector, there still remain bureaucrats in number and attitude suited for the pre-1991 system. Many such officials are simply redundant. Their lack of functionality is a chief factor in India's inability to make the progress it would like in wringing corruption from government. Having no positive role to play, some officials turn to negative exercise of authority. From the nonfunctional negative exercise of authority, it is but a short step to the solicitation and acceptance of compensation for the selective removal of such a barrier.[126]

The high-tariff barriers and the slow pace of economic reforms were the cause of persistent trouble in the Indian economy, which in turn, was the result of the inability to break free from the colonial structure that it inherited from Britain. This representation of the Indian economy as a continuation of the colonial structure, frames America with its 'free economy' as an

[124] 'On the Record Briefing Deputy Secretary Talbott on India and Pakistan', US Department of State, Office of the Spokesman, 28 May 1998, Clinton Presidential Library Records, National Security Council, Anthony Blinken Speechwriting, Box 36 and Box 39. Senator Jesse Helms, 'Crisis in South Asia', p. 3.
[125] Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 24. Raymond E. Vickery Jr., *The Eagle and the Elephant: Strategic Aspects of US-India Economic Engagement* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2011), p. 24 and p. 38. 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Samuel Berger', Radisson SAS Hotel Berlin, Germany, 13 May 1998.
[126] Vickery Jr., *The Eagle and the Elephant*, p. 24.

economically successful postcolonial nation. The slow pace of economic growth was accredited to British colonisation and the previous invaders, who had indelibly etched themselves in the psyches of the many Indian foreign policy elites subsequently contributing to the attractiveness of 'autarky'.[127] This form of central economy thus contributed to the problems of 'perennial poverty'.[128]

While India as the other was already suffering from major economic problems, the sanctions were espoused to be 'stiff' penalties of a 'strong', 'powerful' and 'firm' nature, which were not devised to 'punish for the sake of punishment' but were implemented so as to induce India (and Pakistan) to give up the nuclear option and adopt those measures which were in its own individual interest. As Assistant Secretary and the State Department's Chief Spokesman James P. Rubin exclaimed in a Press Briefing on 13 May 1998:

> The sanctions that are now in place are going to pose very stiff penalties on the government – they're going to involve very stiff penalties on the government of India, including development assistance, military sales and exchanges, trade and dual-use technology, US loan guarantees. The requirement for the United States to oppose loans and assistance in the international financial institutions could potentially cost India billions of dollars in desperately needed financing for infrastructure and other projects. The prohibition on loans by US banks to the government of India and on Ex-Im and OPIC activities could cost hundreds of millions of dollars, affect projects already approved and could cause major US companies and financial institutions to rethink entirely their presence and operations in India.[129]

By retaining the developed/developing dichotomy, the narrative of a struggling economy focused on the importance of sanctions as the tool for US foreign policy. Sanctions demonstrated the masculine nature whereby the 'self' as a developed economy held substantial power to influence the weak economies. In the presence of sanctions, a developing economy like India facing acute financial shortages could face major challenges, unless alternative

[127] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[128] 'Press Briefing by Ambassador Shirin Tahir - Kheli and Ambassador Frank Wisner on President's Trip to India, Bangladesh and Pakistan', The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 14 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office – Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78.
[129] James P. Rubin, Daily Press Briefing, US Department of State, 13 May 1998, http://www.state.gov/1997-2001-NOPDFS/briefings/9805/980513db.html (Accessed on 19/04/13).

decisions in favour of world stability were taken into consideration. For a 'dominant economy' in world affairs sanctions were considered as necessary to retain the US 'leadership' role.[130]

Despite the prevalent interpretation of the effect of sanctions on a 'developing' and a 'weak' economy, to what extent the sanctions in the form of the Glenn Amendment were successful was subject to debate within the administration. For instance, in a Hearing before the House Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, on 20 October 1999, Dr. Arona Butcher, Chief of the Country and Regional Analysis Division in the Office of Economics, identified that in the case of India, the Glenn Amendment sanctions had a minimal overall impact on its economy. The reason, according to Dr. Butcher was that India's economy was 'not dependent upon foreign bilateral and multilateral assistance' and thus appeared not to have been affected by the postponement of several World Bank loans. By late 1998, the Indian economic growth rate had recovered to 5.6 per cent and the impact of the re-imposition of sanctions was estimated to cost $320 million, or less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of India's GDP at the time.[131] The counter-narrative, while not explicitly challenging the administration's sanctions policy, sought to undo the link between 'developing' and 'aid-dependent' or 'weak' economy whereby the viability of sanctions and their effectiveness was questioned on basis of the data available.

Bilaterally, the narrative of a struggling economy which concentrated on the developed/developing dichotomy where the United States was positioned as a privileged 'developed' country was also re-utilised by the Indian actors in order to undo the inequality through which India could be relegated to a perpetual 'developing' status of unimportance. While maintaining the identity of the 'developing' nation, the discourse of developing nation was merged with a grand narrative of how the emergence of many developing nations onto the

[130] 'Draft Remarks for Under Secretary Pickering at Meridian House', 14 October 1997, Clinton Presidential Library Records, National Security Council, Anthony Blinken Speechwriting, 2006 – 0459 – F OP6N, Box 36 and Box 39.
[131] Statement of Dr. Arona Butcher, Chief of Country and Regional Analysis Division, Office of Economics, United States International Trade Commission, 'Regional Security in South Asia', Hearing before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, 20 October 1999, p. 18, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13.

map of international politics was equally important in sustaining the economic equilibrium of international political economy. For instance, Indian President Narayanan proclaimed to Clinton during an exchange of toasts at Rashtrapati Bhavan on 21 March 2000:

> Mr President, one remarkable feature of the post-Cold War world is this emergence of large number of developing nations in the political and economic arena of the world. And the other dominant fact is the emergence of the United States of America as the major economic, technological, and military factor in the world. The USA holds a tremendous responsibility for strengthening peace and stability in the world. For that purpose, the United Nations organization should be strengthened and made the centrepiece of the new global architecture. [132]

The counter-narrative thus maintains the importance of the United States as 'developed' and the most economically powerful country in the world but it gives due importance to the economic role that even the developing countries would play in the post-Cold War world. This claim nullifies the difference between developed/developing, and instead accords equality to both identities as integral to the workings of the world economy as reflected through the reformed United Nations.

To undo the counter-narratives and retain the developed/developing dichotomy, by the time of Clinton's visit a marked change could be observed in terms of framing the other. The identity of a 'developing' country was still maintained through the emplotment of comparison between the 'old' and the 'new' economy as evident through the implementation of economic reforms by India since 1992.[133] The introduction of new reforms and the effort to liberalise the Indian economy was varyingly termed as entering 'second generations' of economic reforms, moving from an 'administered' to a 'regulated' economy.[134] The invocation of 'old' and 'new', and the economy of 'other' which depicted 'stark economic contrasts' enabled the actors of the

[132] 'Remarks by President Clinton and President of India in exchange of Toasts', Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi, India, 21 March 2000.
[133] See, 'Joint US-India Statement', Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office- Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78. 'Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session Parliament', 22 March 2000.
[134] 'Statement by Ambassador Frank Wisner', The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 14 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office- Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78.

Clinton administration to undo the radical otherness, yet sustain a temporal dimension through otherness wherein the 'other' could progress towards the 'self' in terms of economic milestones.[135] A 'poor' country like India could thus walk on the path of development if it opens trade and diverts scant resources where they are most needed i.e., the development of proper infrastructure and through the economic uplift of the masses currently caught in the cycle of poverty.[136] A greater engagement could only be possible in the event that the nuclear issue was ironed out consequently leading to the lifting of sanctions that would enable India to integrate into the world economy. For instance, in a Press Briefing on 16 March 2000, Deputy National Economic Advisor Lael Brainard exclaimed:

> The President will be visiting both extremes of modern India, visiting village in an agricultural rural area where 25 percent of the population is still working in the agricultural area; and then also going to, as Sandy suggested, the Silicon Valley equivalent, Hyderabad, which is transforming the way of life for millions of Indians.[137]

Brainard notes in the following lines:

> There is an important crossroads right now in the Indian economy that really is represented by these two extremes, and given the government's interest in reform and commitment to reform, it's an important opportunity for us to engage with the Indians. We are hoping to be able to deepen and institutionalize markets, economic engagement across a whole host of areas – and the President will be discussing all of those issues with the Prime Minister.[138]

While the contrasts and the potential of the Indian economy were made clear, in other instances it was proclaimed that greater investment was needed between both countries. America would engage in trade matters without favouring 'developed' nations over 'developing' countries.[139] This was evident as despite being a 'strong' and a 'wealthy' economy, the US had one of the

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[135] 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, Deputy National Economic Advisor Lael Brainard, and Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Rick Inderfurth', The James S. Brady Briefing Room, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 16 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78, see p. 5.
[136] Charles Babington, 'Clinton Softens Pleas With Praise for India; President Reasserts Arms Concerns', *The Washington Post*, 23 March 2000, database for historical newspaper, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.
[137] Deputy National Economic Advisor Lael Brainard, p. 7.
[138] *Ibid*.
[139] 'Press Briefing by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright', Maurya Sheraton, New Delhi, 21 March 2000, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office - Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78.

most open economies in the world and was open to the global trading system.[140] With the framing of self as 'developed', globalisation was factored in as a necessary part of the global trading regime through which the cause of social justice around the world could be ensured. The potential for engagement, fruits of India's economic liberalisation, and massive business opportunities were presumed to be larger issues in which cooperation could be achieved, although, tough issues of non-proliferation also needed attention since the Clinton administration's position with regard to those had not changed. In this context Madeleine Albright noted at a Press Briefing on 21 March 2000:

> I think that what this trip has done is not change in any way the way we feel about the nonproliferation issue. And the President was very clear about our position on it and work has to continue on it.[141]

The irreconcilable position on the issue of non-proliferation amidst greater engagement with India economically had existed even before the 1998 nuclear tests. Frank G. Wisner, US Ambassador to India (1994-1997), explained this tension between the desire to engage economically and the inability to overcome larger nuclear disagreements succinctly, as he noted in a personal interview:

> It is reasonable to observe that America's economic relationship with India became the most important part of our bilateral ties during the Rao years. Under the Prime Minister's and Manmohan Singh's direction, India began to deregulate its market and opportunities opened for the United States and our business community. We exploited these. The United States became India's largest trader and investor. In this sense it is fair to say that the United States found a way around its difference in our nuclear policies with India but our business ties did not overcome our strategic disagreement.[142]

The repetitive invocation of the 'autarkic', 'socialist', and 'post-reform' economy that define India sets the United States apart as free-state, follower of capitalism, liberal and postcolonial country which has successfully managed to defeat socialism through capitalism. Historically, 'individualism' resonated so much in American ideology that it rapidly became the positive term, whereas, socialism its opposite could only be evaluated negatively. Consequently, the

[140] 'Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament', 22 March 2000.
[141] 'Press Briefing by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright', Maurya Sheraton, New Delhi, 21 March 2000.
[142] Personal Interview with Ambassador Frank G. Wisner on 30/04/13.

emergence of capitalism as a self-conscious ideology took shelter under the established categories of individualism. In the 20th century, 'free enterprise', with its connotation of early entrepreneurial capitalism easily reconciled with individualism, which now became the reality of American capitalism.[143] Hence, capitalism established the link between the most basic national values and the alleged characteristics of the American economy, clearly spelled out in a 1946 statement by the National Association of Manufacturers in a book entitled *The American Individual Enterprise System,* which expounded:

> The individual wanted little from the government beyond police protection while he confidently worked out his own destiny… Our private enterprise system and our American form of government are inseparable and there can be no compromise between a free economy and a governmentally dictated economy without endangering our political as well as our economic freedom.[144]

The assertion of individual freedom against the interference of a hierarchical bureaucratic state, thus frames the United States as a unique capitalist nation. The discourse of individual freedom and the capitalist nation expertly blends the qualities of national greatness with the attributes of the economic model that the US has adopted and followed. Capitalism is equated with 'freedom', 'humanitarian motives', and 'law and order' as opposed to the model of the centralised government as practiced by totalitarian governments which is equated with 'slavery', 'war' and 'surrender'.[145] This identity trope has been employed historically in various instances to re-establish the self as different from other nation/nations. For instance, while Secretary of State John Foster Dulles typified the strong inclination in the United States during the 1950s to view communism as 'immoral' and 'distrustful', consequently, many Third World countries, from India to Algeria, that eventually turned to an authoritarian form of socialism in the belief that state-directed economic planning would offer fastest route to

[143] Robert N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), See Chapter Five: The American Taboo on Socialism for further elaboration.
[144] Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology* (Penguin Books, 1966), p. 207 and Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Socialism, The Birth of Two New Concepts*, p. 332, cited in Robert N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*, Chapter Five.
[145] Speech by Ronald Reagan, 'A Time for Choosing', Air date, 27 October 1964, Los Angeles, CA, http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ronaldreaganatimeforchoosing.htm (Accessed on 12/10/14).

modernisation and a safety from economic exploitation, were considered threats to American interests.[146] The anti-American rhetoric and behaviour in forums such as the United Nations hardened American stance against the socialist neutralist countries, which were considered as Communists in disguise, hence, India occupied the place of the noteworthy 'other' in American discourse. Homi Bhabha identifies, the problematic boundaries of modernity are enacted in ambivalent temporalities of nation-space. 'The language of culture and community is poised on the fissures of the present becoming the rhetorical figures of a national past'.[147] Resultantly, in a continuation of self/other representations, the present was invoked through the rhetorical past as India with its nuclear policies was framed by the actors in Clinton administration as a 'small trader' on the international scene which was engaging in a 'self-defeating', dangerous and 'wasteful course' instead of following the example of other developing and democratic countries like Brazil, Argentina, South Africa and South Korea, who were in a similar situation to India but instead focused on development of their people and security.[148]

The narrative of a struggling economy on to a path of economic reforms utilised identity markers of political economy by representing 'self' as 'developed' and 'masculine' in terms of a strong economy with substantial world influence and the ability to determine outcomes on the international stage. The great power identity was thus maintained through foreign policy/Foreign Policy because economic identity of the US self was presented to be conducive to maintenance of the global nuclear order. The narrative of scientific assistance, as examined below, continued with the representation of 'self' and 'other' in unequal terms which had implications for nuclear policies bilaterally as well as globally.

[146] John M. Carroll and George C. Herring eds., *Modern American Diplomacy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1996), p. 249.
[147] Homi K. Bhabha, 'Dissemination: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation', in Ashcroft et al., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, pp. 176-177.
[148] 'Interview of the President by Peter Jennings', *ABC World News*, 22 March 2000.

A 'second-tier' state's quest to demonstrate 'technological prowess'

Atoms for Peace marked an important narrative closure of American identity as a 'technically advanced' nation, which aimed to harness the power of the atom for 'constructive' and not 'destructive' purposes. The narrative made temporal connections between past, present, and future as various discoveries like 'fire' and 'chemistry' were posited to be equivalent to the discovery of 'atomic energy'. All discoveries could be used for 'good' or 'wicked' purposes but America was only capable of expending the atomic energy for positive purposes. Thus the civilian/weapons dichotomy came into being wherein civilian nuclear technology was touted to be inherently peaceful and constructive and could ensure the economic stability of the free world. In the interim years, this very logic was put into action as 'scientific assistance' to a 'less developed country' like India was promoted. In the event of India's prospective weaponisation, termination of all assistance was enacted on the claims that the other was simply indulging in a demonstration of scientific progress to address the issues of 'prestige' while lacking the necessary technical capabilities in the realm of weaponisation. Similar identity tropes were utilised by the actors in the Clinton administration as a result of overt nuclearisation of India in 1998. By the time of the presidential visit in 2000, the self as 'technically advanced' was maintained not through radical otherness, but otherness wherein the 'other' could progress towards the 'self' even in the absence of nuclearisation.

The decision to conduct nuclear tests by India was termed as a way to 'demonstrate scientific and technological prowess'.[149] The technological development of the 'second-tier' states was figured in terms of how these states were able to acquire advanced technology from 'the West' by commercial and other channels. Once acquired, using their own indigenous efforts these second-tier powers could choose to develop nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities.[150] The

[149] Statement of Hon. Karl F. Inderfurth, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs in 'Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests; India and Pakistan: What Next?', p. 17.
[150] Executive Summary of the Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, 15 July 1998, 104th Congress, pp. 16 and 18-19, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 10/05/13.

US was thus framed as the world's 'leading developer' and 'user' of advanced technology but once this technology was transferred by the US or any other developed country, there was no way to ensure that the transferred technology would not be used for hostile purposes.[151] The spatial and temporal constructions of 'West' as 'developed' along with an emphasis on technological prowess of America, framed the 'self' as a strong contender for the guardianship of nuclear weapons and thereby the custodian of the nuclear regime. Thus India was permanently relegated to a technological stage where it was in search of continual assistance and seeking technical expertise.[152] Since the 'other' was relatively not as advanced as the 'self', it lacked facilities in command and control systems that would ensure the storage and proper security of its nuclear weapons.[153] It is imperative to note here that the narrative of US being a 'scientifically' advance country marks a critical continuation from the Atoms of Peace discourse, which insisted that the energy of atoms is productive when there is a capability to manage and utilise it in productive ways. The identity markers of progressive, advanced, and leading developer were thus fused with the political economy of a developed nation to engender difference from the other through which sanctions became a viable policy option so as to prevent or restrain the other from embarking on to the path of weaponisation. It was therefore only through 'foreign policy' that Foreign Policy was able to re-establish the internal/external divide at this juncture.

Domestically, counter-narratives did not explicitly challenge the official dictum, yet, it was acknowledged by some Clinton critics like William Schneider Jr. in their testimonies before the Senate, that India (and Pakistan) had 'an ample inventory of fissile material, and a scientific and industrial base able to support the introduction of nuclear-armed delivery systems

[151] *Ibid.*
[152] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[153] Neil Joeck, *Maintaining Nuclear Stability in South Asia*, Adelphi Paper 312 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Hilary Synnott, *The Causes and Consequences of South Asia's Nuclear Tests*, Adelphi Paper 332 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

rapidly'.[154] The Indian ballistic missile programme, especially short-range missile systems Prithvi, and medium range systems such as Agni and Agni-plus were in a relatively 'advanced' stage.[155] Robert Einhorn also noted in the same Hearing before the Senate, that Indian missile programmes themselves did not violate the MTCR as 'most of these programs really are indigenous' with 'very little outside assistance at this stage'.[156] The counter-narratives linked India's scientific and technological capability to terms like 'advanced' and 'indigenous' presenting an alternative narrative that factored in the scientific capabilities of the other.

Bilaterally, it was declared that India too had 'proven capability for a weaponised nuclear program'.[157] The emphasis on the scientific base and its ability to support a nuclear infrastructure was made explicit by Official Press Statements issued by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, on 11 May 1998 as it was stated:

> These tests have established that India has a proven capability for a weaponised nuclear programme. They also provide a valuable database which is useful in the design of nuclear weapons of different yields for different applications and for different delivery systems. Further they are expected to carry Indian scientists towards a sound computer simulation capability which may be supported by sub-critical experiments if considered necessary.[158]

The tests were a 'consolidation' of 'the [nuclear] command and control structure which had been existing in various forms'.[159] The trope 'indigenous' highlighted the capability of the Indian scientific establishment to procure nuclear related weapons technology without any outside help. The head of Operation Shakti (Indian nuclear tests series 1998 – Pokhran II) Abdul Kalam, who was also the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) chief, exclaimed: 'I am completely indigenous', thus distinguishing himself from the other

[154] Prepared Statement of William Schneider Jr., 'Crisis in South Asia', Hearings before the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 3 June 1998, p. 74.
[155] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[156] Einhorn, 'Crisis in South Asia', p. 28.
[157] Brajesh Mishra, Principal Secretary to PM Vajpayee, 'India's Nuclear Weapons Program: Operation Shakti', 1998, http://nuclearweaponarchive.org/India/IndiaShakti.html (Accessed on 13/04/15).
[158] 'Official Press Statements', Issued by Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 11 May 1998, http://nuclearweaponarchive.org/India/Indianofficial.txt (Accessed on 13/04/15).
[159] Abdul Kalam quoted in Gaurav Kampani, 'Behind India's Veil of Nuclear Ambiguity', *Rediff News*, 25 August 1998, http://www.rediff.com/news/1998/aug/25atom.htm (Accessed on 17/06/14).

scientists who had trained in the West.[160] This indigenousness was later factored in as important source of fighting 'neocolonialism exercised through technology control'.[161] As Vajpayee affirmed in March 2000, that despite sanctions the capacity of Indian nuclear plants had gone up considerably.[162] Domestic resources and scientific capability were thus espoused to be a fitting reply to the sanctions regime, which was likened to neocolonialism. The self was thus framed as a postcolonial country, where nuclear technology enhancement and development arguably proved to be a source of maintaining freedom. The narrative of BJP-led government thus marked an explicit continuation of Rajiv Gandhi's exclamation in May 1989 that 'technological backwardness' leads to 'subjugation'. In racial terms, the self was thus projected as an equally capable and productive country seeking equality on the international stage through opposition to the other's neocolonisation by means of technology control.

Bill Clinton's visit to India marked an incorporation of counter-narratives into the official narrative framework, as the attention shifted to cooperation in scientific and environmental realms rather than an exclusive focus on nuclearisation. The narrative thus retained identity of the 'self' as 'technologically advanced' country, however, it sought to focus on India as the 'other' with a 'burgeoning' scientific base which could benefit from cooperation in clean-energy projects to enhance environmental protection whilst not jeopardising its economic growth.[163] It was proclaimed that the Indian scientists were 'pioneering the use of the solar energy to power rural communities', therefore, deepening of cooperation was essential for the utilisation of clean energy.[164] Hence Ian Bowles, Senior Director for Environmental Affairs for the National Security Council, elaborated at a Press Briefing on 22 March 2000 that new initiatives were being undertaken with India on clean energy for which a $200 million line of

[160] Kalam quoted in John F. Burns, 'Self-Made Bomb Maker', *The New York Times*, 20 May 1998, cited in George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact of Global Proliferation*, p. 425.
[161] 'India to have minimum nuclear deterrent: Vajpayee', *Deutsche Press-Agentur*, 5 March 2000, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 11/05/13.
[162] *Ibid.*
[163] Sandy Berger, 'Press Briefing', 16 March 2000.
[164] 'Remarks by the President to the Joint Sessions of Parliament', 22 March 2000.

credit from Ex-Im Bank was being forwarded. Department of Energy (DOE) and Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) 'technical assistance' to India was thus being resumed having been suspended in 1998. Bowles later remarked that only sanctions in this area were being lifted to enhance clean energy projects.[165] Furthermore, in helping India to develop in the most productive way, it was announced that America had tried its best in the scientific field and provided aid in sectors where it was most needed. While 'millions of tons' of wheat had been shipped to India, American agricultural experts had helped in 'igniting' the green revolution from which India had benefited to a very great extent since independence and an aid worth of $84 million for clean-energy projects was also to be forwarded to India, Bangladesh and Nepal.[166] The 'technologically dependent' and 'developing' identity of 'other' was thus retained even while new avenues for cooperation were explored. Nuclear policies remained consistent as it was apparently noted on various occasions that the administration's nuclear stand remained unchanged and it was this 'tough' issue that had to be resolved before full-fledged partnership could commence.

The narrative of a second-tier state's quest to demonstrate technological prowess thus utilised spatial and temporal demarcations of 'West' and 'East'. The US was thus framed as a 'developed' country both scientifically and economically which could assist other 'developing' nations of the world in attaining economic stability through technological growth. As can be seen from the above discussion, though radical otherness was abandoned, the otherness employed only enabled the administration to make concessions in the environmental realm through which the role for the self could be validated as a technologically advanced country. This also entailed that the other had to concentrate on constructive uses of nuclear energy rather than its destructive potential through weaponisation. The continuation of narrative points

[165] 'Press Briefing by Ian Bowles, Senior Director for Environmental Affairs for the National Security Council, 22 March 2000, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Agra, India, Clinton Presidential Records, Press Office – Press Releases Master Set, 11 March 2000 – 31 March 2000, OA Number - 40843, Box 78.
[166] Bill Sammon, 'Clinton carries million to India', *The Washington Times*, 20 March 2000, database for Historical Newspapers, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 12/05/13. 'Remarks by President Clinton and President Narayana of India in an exchange of Toasts'.

towards the dominant modes of understanding within representational and textual practices or Foreign Policy that ultimately depends on modes of differentiation engendered by 'foreign policy'. As Shapiro notes: 'It is the dominant, surviving textual practices that give rise to the systems of meaning and value from which actions and policies are directed and legitimated'.[167]

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the emergence of post-Cold War US nuclear policy towards India incorporating an approach of halt, cap and preferable reversal of the weapons programme on the Indian subcontinent within the larger effort of the Clinton administration to develop friendly relations with India. The main Foreign Policy discursive events marked by sanctions, five-benchmarks and Clinton's visit to India, constituted American subjectivity as established during Atoms for Peace and the interim years of 1947-1992, when nuclear relations with India were effectuated. The overt nuclearisation of India provided a foundation for re-constituting American identity in terms of the peaceful, stable, democratic, developed, and scientifically advanced country as inextricably tied to the global nuclear order. With the Indian interests in the US re-conceptualised in terms of engagement in wider fields, the rationale provided a basis for developing cordial relations as opposed to the complete isolation of the Indian other, during the latter years of Clinton administration.

However, the change in US bilateral engagement was not total because nuclear policy remained markedly unchanged as it still rested on the narrative structure of American national discourse. Particularly important were the narratives of civilisation, US-Soviet Union deterrence stability, greatness as associated with democracy, free-market developed economy, technically advanced Western country, and the strength and paternalism associated with the maintenance of global nuclear order which focused on containing the spread of nuclear weapons. In invoking these narratives, the post-Cold War continuation of NPT-led global nuclear order was

[167] Michael J. Shapiro, 'Textualizing Global Politics', p. 13.

legitimised through which the American role for the self as an arbiter of that order could be reclaimed.[168]

The spatial and temporal representations in each narrative played a crucial role in maintaining difference in terms of radical otherness and otherness which enabled the administration to embark on engagement, yet retain the fundamental precepts of US nuclear policy as tied to the NPT. The utilisation of adjectives in describing the radical brand of BJP Hinduism enabled the administration to maintain a distinctive heritage of Christian self as peaceful. While otherness as maintained through analogies between Gandhian-Nehruvian Peace and Martin Luther King Jr's legacy led to temporal connections between 'self' and 'other', it still preserved crucial demarcations in civilisational heritage. The geopolitical dimensions of West/East divide utilised radical otherness, as the self was still purported to be progressive, developed, wise, and responsible as far the nuclear deterrence relationships during Cold War and post-Cold War years were concerned. The recognition of what it meant to be a democracy that was 'great' gave credence to the ability of the self in negotiating fruitful arms control. Thus temporal connections were made with the 'other' through the recognition of common democratic ideals, however, the visible absence of motivation towards the goal of nuclear disarmament depicted the other's irresponsibility, weakness and sent bad signal that undermined the principles of democracy. Through radical otherness it was possible to depict difference between developed and developing economy wherein the latter's economy was crumbling and aid-dependent. The analogies between old and new economy led to temporal connections between self and other, yet retained significant difference wherein free market capitalism was still of highest virtue. The inscription of self as technologically advanced enabled the administration to maintain radical difference and even attain otherness in relations with the other without compromising the nuclear stand through cooperation in clean energy projects.

[168] For similar arguments see, Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis: A Case Study of Finland*, p. 268.

Identity is a fluid and perpetually negotiated phenomenon, and so all identities are ipso facto ambiguous.[169] The sense of continuity can only be obtained through emplotment wherein various interpretations of self are negotiated in a historically contingent environment. Although the modes of representation with relation to India were markedly different during the Clinton administration's tenure, in essence, the narrative figurations retained the fundamental qualities of the self as established during Atoms for Peace. Thus it is possible to take into account that US nuclear policy towards India rather than being a reaction to externally induced crises, is fundamentally a part of the on-going production and reproduction of American great power identity.[170] The uncertainty about the self is of interest as it is this quest to perpetually find a certain self in an intersubjective environment that leads to a continual negotiation of self versus the other. The next chapter analyses the George W. Bush administration's nuclear policy towards India to mark the continuation of great power narratives which relates to the larger questions of 'what we are' and 'what kind of system we want' and how relations of identity/difference are integral to foreign policy/Foreign Policy.

[169] Neumann, *Uses of the Other*, p. 110.
[170] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 132.

Chapter Six

A Nuclear America in a Post 9/11 World: India as the 'Other' in the Narratives of the George W. Bush Administration (2001-2009)

Introduction

Since the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, global terrorism came to be constructed as a predominant threat to US national security.[1] Terrorism not only mandated an immediate response because it was perceived to be a threat of grave proportions, but also required creativity in US global nuclear leadership where increasing connections between 'terrorism' and 'rogue states' became crucial. In order to maintain a world free from nuclear proliferation and threat, the composition of a nuclear order required differentiation between friends and enemies, good and bad states, proliferators and non-proliferators that would enable the US to maintain its position while ensuring global security from nuclear weapons. The 21st century presented unique threats in the form of nuclear weapons becoming available to terrorist organisations that could resort to destructive means to further their radical ideologies, thus constituting a major threat to 'America, and the entire civilised world'.[2] The 'War on Terror' thus provided a just cause for the United States to wage war for freedom and security and curtail nuclear weapons proliferation.[3] As Bush noted:

> Rogue states are clearly the most likely sources of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons for terrorists. Every nation now know that we cannot accept – and we will not accept – states that harbour, finance, train, or equip the agents of terror. Those nations that violate this principle will be regarded as hostile regimes. They have been warned, they are being watched, and they will be held to account.[4]

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[1] Croft, *Culture, Crises and America's War on Terror*.
[2] 'Proliferation Cannot Be Tolerated', President George W Bush on Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation at the National Defense University, Washington D.C., 11 February 2004, http://www.outlookindia.com/article/proliferation-cannot-be-tolerated/222924 (Accessed on 02/03/13).
[3] Marvin L. Astrada, *American Power after 9/11* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 78. Also see, Jonas Schneider, *The Change toward Cooperation in the George W Bush Administration's Nuclear Nonproliferation Policy toward North Korea* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH, 2010).
[4] George W. Bush, 'Speech, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, 11 Dec, 2002', in John W. Dietrich ed., *The George W Bush Foreign Policy Reader: Presidential Speeches With Commentary*, p. 127, cited in Astrada, *American Power after 9/11*, p. 78.

According to Robert Blackwill, US Ambassador to India from 2001 to 2003, India was one of the key countries that recognised the danger of Islamic terrorism and therefore shared vital national interests with the United States.[5] This statement was an explicit reference to the pronouncements of Condoleezza Rice's, who would become George W. Bush's first National Security Advisor and later Secretary of State, in *Foreign Affairs* of January-February 2000 that 'Power Matters' and 'Great powers do not just mind their own business'.[6] Rice further noted: 'India is an element in China's calculation, and it should be in America's, too. India is not a great power yet, but it has the potential to emerge as one'.[7] India's integration into the global non-proliferation regime was thus purported to be conducive to global nuclear stability. It was argued that the US-India nuclear deal, negotiated during Bush's first term in office, would lead to greater safety of the world as India would accept international safeguards not previously adopted. Additionally, India would adopt similar nuclear standards as those imposed by the NSG.[8] This stood in stark contrast to counter-narratives from policy-makers and non-proliferation specialists who questioned the effects of such a regime on the NNWS, which had already abided by the legal provisions of the NPT through disarmament and states like North Korea and Iran who were significant detractors.[9] More importantly, while welcoming the US-India civil nuclear deal bilaterally, the independent thrust of Indian foreign policy was reinforced. The US-India nuclear deal was visualised as India's growing recognition globally as a 'responsible' nuclear power, a recognition that did not explicitly mandate an alliance with the United States.[10]

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[5] Robert Blackwill, 'Why is India America's natural ally?', *The National Interest*, 2004, http://nationalinterest.org/article/why-is-india-americas-natural-ally-2764 (Accessed on 13/03/13).
[6] Condoleezza Rice, 'Promoting the National Interest', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 1, January/February 2000, pp. 45-62, p. 49.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[8] Esther Pan and Jayshree Bajoria, 'The US-India Nuclear Deal', *The Washington Post*, 4 September 2008, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/09/04/AR2008090401614.html (Accessed on 13/03/13).
[9] *Ibid*.
[10] "Suo-Motu Statement by Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Minister of External Affairs, on 'India's Civil Nuclear Energy Initiative' in Parliament", 20 October 2008, http://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-topic.htm?24/Civil+Nuclear+Cooperation (Accessed on 13/03/13).

In this chapter, I analyse how the main narratives established during Atoms for Peace and adapted successively by US administrations over the years evolved through the period 2001 to 2009. Narrative identity of the state is premised on the understanding that a state identity requires constant reproduction to retain coherence through Foreign Policy. This sense of self is reflected through narratives of past, present and future and that of the unique relationship of great powers to a particular global order through which other(s) are regularly judged or criticised. But narratives do not occur in a vacuum; they are power laden. Power relates to the maintenance of a dominant narrative in an interactive environment. The narratives that sought to define particular 'we-ness' are set in opposition to a multiplicity of other interpretations of 'we-ness' circulating within domestic constituencies and in relationship with other(s) who themselves are engaged in production and re-production of their own identity thus challenging the interpretation of great power 'self' in the process. In the US administration's discussion of nuclear India, the master-narratives like that of peaceful civilisation, democratic lineages, US-Soviet Union/India-Pakistan deterrence stability/instability, scientific assistance, and economic progress of the world – cut across regions and policy areas giving meaning to the US position within the NPT-led global nuclear regime. These narratives give meaning to events whereby national actors prefer that their particular interpretations hold greater significance.

My aim in this chapter is to evaluate how these narrative contestations have worked towards a re-constitution of American identity and American nuclear policies towards India that led to the de-facto approval of India's weaponisation through the US-India civil nuclear deal. I propose an analytical framework of narrative identity as connected to the recognition of great power self, operating within the parameters of the global nuclear order. The organising principles of narratives, as proposed in Chapter Two, are identity markers of 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender' through which the relationship of difference is established on the basis of inequality. As I have already indicated, these relations of difference are not to be solely understood in terms of 'radical otherness' but have to be actively understood in terms of

'otherness' as well, wherein both ways of creating difference are negotiated in spatial and temporal dimensions. Narratives are central to the identity of state and international system. If actors within the state believe that a policy of curbing global terrorism is prerequisite to stable global order, then the state identity will acquire a sense through narratives of 'rogues' and 'terrorists'. This creates the new and unquestioned reality in which the application of state violence appears normal and reasonable through which policies such as the 'War on Terror' come to be implemented validating the identity on which the policy action was initiated. Identity and policy are thus locked in a constitutive relationship. As the narrative works for something and some purpose, it has a clear political purpose and thus it is an exercise of power.[11]

In this chapter, I look at the key Foreign Policy 'discursive events' that held potential significance to influence the course of the US-India bilateral nuclear relationship. These 'discursive events' are: the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) implemented in January 2004; the framework US-India Civil Nuclear Deal announced in July 2005; and the 123 Agreement for bilateral cooperation in civil nuclear domain signed in October 2008. Once the significance of these discursive events is clear, I then proceed with an analysis of main narratives as mentioned above, in order to evaluate the relationship between identity and US policies towards India, alternatively termed as the state identity co-constituted through foreign policy/Foreign Policy. The chapter will conclude with some final observations in the light of the analysis.

Background to the discursive events

Just like its predecessor, the Bush administration inherited the onus to craft and maintain US security and its position with the global order of the 21st century. While the issue of what constituted a grave threat to US security was still debatable in the 1990s, this obscurity

[11] Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism*, see Introduction.

vanished with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Terrorism now came to be constructed as a major threat to US security thus filling the vacuum left by the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq was undertaken to uproot the Taliban regime in the former and remove the alleged weapons of mass destruction in the latter. The 'War on Terror' thus changed the meaning of international security and the US position in it to a very great extent. While the threat of international terrorism was produced as being of central significance, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction came to be interpreted as an issue of major concern, despite the absence of any such weapons being found in Iraq after the 2003 invasion. Non-proliferation thus retained, and in fact, acquired greater urgency following the events of September 2001. The centrality of non-proliferation and new methods to counter-proliferate were quite discernible as George W. Bush asserted in his National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction 2002:

> The United States will support those regimes (non-proliferation regimes) that are currently in force, and work to improve effectiveness of, and compliance with, those regimes. Consistent with other policy priorities, we will also promote new agreements and arrangements that serve [*our*] nonproliferation goals. Overall we seek to cultivate an international environment that is more conducive to nonproliferation.[12] (Emphasis added).

Improvement in relations with India was postulated to be a part of this new approach to combat proliferation as well as improve the 'strategic' relationship with key countries. The major policy developments under the Bush administration are encapsulated within: (a) The Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) in January 2004; (b) The framework US-India civil nuclear deal in July 2005; and (c) The 123 Agreement for bilateral cooperation in the civil nuclear domain in October 2008.

The contours of the US-India nuclear deal were defined long before the July 2005 official statement and could be traced to the joint statement issued by Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Bush in 2001 whereby both countries committed themselves to complete the process

[12] George Bush, National Strategy to Combat the Weapons of Mass Destruction, 2002, p. 4, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/16092.pdf (Accessed on 12/12/11).

of ‘qualitatively transforming U.S.-India relations in pursuit of their many common goals in Asia and beyond’.[13] This joint statement also hinted at the possibilities of resuming bilateral trade in high technology commerce, which hitherto had remained a problematic issue and an irritant in US-India relations. In fact, observations were made that the area of dual use technology had become a ‘litmus test’ for the Indian politicians to gauge the commitment of the United States in unleashing a new era of cordial bilateral relations between the two ‘estranged’ democracies.[14] By November 2002, India and the United States agreed to set up the High Technology Cooperation Group (HTCG) – a body established with the intention to facilitate the transfer of sophisticated civilian and military technology and to discuss space and nuclear cooperation. The specific aim was to encourage trade in ‘dual-use’ goods and technologies in a way that advanced the relationship between the two countries and reinforced the mutual trust in stemming proliferation. The former Undersecretary of the State of Commerce Kenneth Juster lauded the HTCG contribution to the United States’ 90 per cent approval of ‘low level dual-use’ licensing applications for India in 2003, more than doubling the value of such approvals.[15] Before long, to maintain the incremental development in bilateral relationship at all levels, the NSSP were announced on 12 January 2004. According to the joint statement, as issued by President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee:

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[13] ‘Joint Statement between the United States of America and the Republic of India’, 9 November 2001, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=73455&st=&st1=#axzz1gEGhm8Ip (Accessed on 05/10/11).
[14] Varun Sahni, ‘Limited Cooperation between Limited Allies’, in Scott Gales and Kaushik Roy eds., *The Nuclear Shadow over South Asia: 1947 to Present* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011), p. 207.
[15] Rajiv Kumar and Santosh Kumar, *In the National Interest: A Strategic Foreign Policy for India* (New Delhi, India: BS Books, 2010), p. 83. Stephen J. Blank, ‘Natural Allies? Regional Security in Asia and Prospects for Indo-American Strategic Cooperation’, pp. 129-130, http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub626.pdf (Accessed on 21/03/14). ‘India High Technology Trade’, https://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/policy-guidance/india-high-technology-trade (Accessed on 19/03/14). Kenneth Juster and Kanwal Sibal, ‘Statement of Principles for US India High Technology Commerce’, https://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/policy-guidance/india-high-technology-trade/11-policy-guidance/462-statement-of-principles-for-u-s-india-high-technology-commerce (Accessed on 19/03/14). The dialogue under the HTCG has led to easing of restrictions on high technology exports to India. High Technology imports from the US increased from US$ 1.3 billion in 2003 to US$ 8.06 billion in 2007. The licensed exports to India increased from US$ 56 million in 2003 to US$ 364.1 million in 2007 with the value of application denied declining from US$ 11 million to about US$ 6 million. Average processing time for licenses have come down from 39 days in 2004 to 33 days in 2007. Exports to India requiring a license today account for less than 0.02% of US exports to India compared to 24% in 1999. See, ‘India-US High Technology Cooperation Group’, https://www.indianembassy.org/archives_details.php?nid=1060 (Accessed on 18/03/14).

> The expanded cooperation launched today is an important milestone in transforming the relationship between India and the United States of America. That relationship is based increasingly on common values and common interest. We are working together to promote global peace and prosperity. We are partners in the war of terrorism and we are partners in controlling the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them.[16]

The NSSP introduced cooperation in what came to be known as 'quartet' issues namely civilian nuclear activities, civilian space programs, high-technology trade as well as missile defence.[17] As Phase I of the implementation of the NSSP, the United States modified some crucial export licensing policies and removed ISRO from the Entity List.[18] The US-India civil nuclear deal was thus constituted as the Phase II of the NSSP that was carried forward by the new government in India, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) under the personal leadership of former seasoned economist and the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh.

The NSSP thus established bilateral dialogues in adjacent fields of defence, energy, economic as well as environmental and health related issues. The economic dialogue was to focus on the liberalisation of export control and bring the private sectors of both countries together to harmonise trade and exploit the growing opportunities that the dynamic growing economy of India offered. The Minister of Commerce and Industry of India, Kamal Nath emphasised that the 'two-way investment must be understood by technology transfer and technology exchange'.[19] The growing economy also needed a substantial amount of energy, therefore, the energy dialogue was to expand cooperation in areas such as clean energy, civilian nuclear energy, energy efficient technologies, coal power and clean coal, oil and gas related issues. Moreover, a ten-year New Framework for the US-India Defence Relationship was signed in

[16] Statement by the President, 'Next Steps in Strategic Partnership with India', 12 January 2004, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/pr/28109.htm (Accessed on 17/03/14). Statement by Vajpayee, 'Next Steps in Strategic Partnership with USA', 13 January 2014, http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?222620 (Accessed on 17/03/14).
[17] 'Statement on the Next Steps in a Strategic Partnership with India', 12 January 2004, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=72529&st=&st1=#axzz1gEGh (Accessed on 10/10/11).
[18] Alan Kronstadt, 'India-U.S. Relations', *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*, IB93097, 23 February 2005, p. 16, http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/42978.pdf (Accessed on 03/03/11).
[19] Kamal Nath cited in 'Reaching New Heights: US-India Relations in the 21st Century', newdelhi.usembassy.gov/uploads/images/.../reach.pdf (Accessed on 15/03/14).

June 2005, which aimed at defence cooperation from arms trade to joint exercises. The agreement was specifically established to promote long-term bilateral defence industrial ties and possible outsourcing of defence research and production to India.[20] The US and India were also to develop cooperation on tackling global issues together, ranging from the promotion of sustainable development, implementing strategies to fight HIV, combating transnational crime and promotion of democratic values and human rights.

It is important to note here that through the NSSP the 'nuclear' aspect was steadily tied to the larger strategic parameters in various fields. The nuclear status of India thus became the central element in US-India bilateral relations. India's rise was apparent, but nurturing this rise in the right direction became critical for US policy makers. Therefore, the nuclear issue, which hitherto had remained the sole contentious factor in this bilateral relationship also became the singular focus of the Bush administration. As opposed to the Clinton administration's official stand on dealing with the nuclear issue that originally meant capping India's nuclear programme, the NSSP proved to be a step forward in terms of negotiating civilian nuclear technology access to India and lifting up of major bilateral restrictions on dual-use technology trade. Such overtures were evidently absent during the Clinton administration as the 'nuclear discord' remained predominantly unresolved. During the Bush administration, the construction of the hegemonic role of the US was now increasingly tied to fighting global terrorism. India with its democratic credentials accompanied by a growing economy and dynamic defence industry was to occupy a central role in the United States' strategic aim of maintaining stability in Asia. As former US diplomat and then Director of the South Asia programme at the Center

[20] Ashok Sharma, 'The US – India Strategic Partnership: An Overview of Defense and Nuclear Courtship', *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, http://journal.georgetown.edu/2013/07/04/the-u-s-india-strategic-partnership-an-overview-of-defense-and-nuclear-courtship-by-ashok-sharma/ (Accessed on 15/03/14). Siddharth Varadarajan, 'US cables show grand calculations underlying 2005 defence framework', *The Hindu*, 28 March 2011, http://www.thehindu.com/news/the-india-cables/us-cables-show-grand-calculations-underlying-2005-defence-framework/article1576796.ece (Accessed on 19/03/14). Air Marshal Dhiraj Kukreja, 'Defence Collaboration: Strategic Partnership with USA', *Indian Defence Review*, vol. 29, no.1, 20 March 2014, http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/defence-collaboration-strategic-partnership-with-usa/ (Accessed on 03/03/11).

for Strategic and International Studies, Teresita Schaffer noted, the strategy required a harmonisation of nuclear relations between the two countries, and increasingly it meant for the US that India would become a more active participant in international non-proliferation efforts.[21]

The 18 July 2005 joint statement issued by President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh indicated the development of NSSP Phase II through the initiation of a joint framework agreement on civil nuclear cooperation. According to both leaders, the framework civilian nuclear cooperation meant recognition of 'the significance of civilian nuclear energy for meeting growing global energy demands in a cleaner and more efficient manner'.[22]

In the statement, President Bush identified India's strong commitment to preventing WMD proliferation and being a responsible state it would acquire the 'same benefits and advantages as other such states'. Bush further clarified that his next steps would involve seeking an agreement from the Congress to 'adjust US laws and policies', as well as to work with friends and allies to 'adjust international regimes' to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India. Along with these steps, the US would also consider India's participation in ITER and the Generation IV International Forum.[23]

On his part, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh ensured that India was ready to assume responsibilities and practices in order to acquire the same benefits and advantages as other

[21] Teresita C. Schaffer, *India and the United States in the 21st Century: Reinventing Partnership* (Washington D.C.: CSIS Press, 2009), pp. 9-11. And also see, Ambassador Teresita C. Schaffer and Vibhuti Hate, 'India and the International Nonproliferation System', A Report by the South Asia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2 October 2006, p. 4, http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/061002_india_intlnonproliferation.pdf (Accessed on 03/03/13).
[22] 'Joint Statement between President George W Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh', http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/07/20050718-6.html (Accessed on 23/02/13).
[23] *Ibid*. ITER is a large-scale scientific experiment intended to prove the viability of fusion as an energy source, and to collect the data necessary for the design and subsequent operation of the first electricity-producing fusion power plant. The ITER Agreement was signed by China, the European Union, India, Japan, Korea, Russia and the United States. See, 'ITER-the way to new energy', https://www.iter.org/proj#collaboration (Accessed on 25/09/15). The Generation IV International Forum (GIF) is a co-operative international endeavour which was set up to carry out the research and development needed to establish the feasibility and performance capabilities of the next generation nuclear energy systems. See, 'The Generation IV International Forum (GIF)', https://www.gen-4.org/gif/jcms/c_9260/public (Accessed on 25/09/15).

leading countries with 'advanced nuclear technology'. Singh further indicated that these responsibilities and practices consist of identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes in the phased manner and taking decisions to voluntarily place India's civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards, signing and adhering to an Additional Protocol, work towards the conclusion of FMCT, and support international efforts of stemming proliferation through harmonisation and adherence to MTCR and NSG.[24]

Both leaders simultaneously agreed to set up a working group to work on the undertaking of necessary actions to fulfil these commitments. A review of progress was to be undertaken during President Bush's visit to India in 2006. A flurry of bilateral negotiations followed in the succeeding months whereupon a separation plan was agreed between India and the US to separate India's nuclear infrastructure into civilian and military installations.[25] A formal joint statement was issued on 2 March 2006 which 'welcomed the successful completion of discussions on India's separation plan and looked forward to the full implementation of the commitments of the 18 July 2005 Joint Statement on nuclear cooperation'.[26] On 26 July 2006, on the basis of this joint statement the 109th Congress passed H.R. 5682 which came to be known as the 'Henry J. Hyde United States-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006'.[27] The Hyde Act became a law (P.L. 109-401) on 18 December 2006 when it was finally signed by the President. As Rajeswari Rajagopalan noted in the Special Report of IPCS, an Indian think-tank, The Hyde Act considered the 'parent act'[28] of the 123 Agreement, 'provides

[24] *Ibid*.
[25] Sharon Squassoni, India's Nuclear Separation Plan: Issues and Views, *CRS Report for Congress*, 22 December 2006, http://www.dae.gov.in/press/sepplan.pdf (Accessed on 11/12/11).
[26] 'Joint Statement between the United States of America and India', 2 March 2006, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=65297&st=&st1=#axzz1gEGhm8Ip (Accessed on 11/12/11).
[27] 'Henry J. Hyde United State-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006', http://www.scribd.com/doc/5525153/Hyde-Act (Accessed on 22/10/11).
[28] There are several discrepancies between the Hyde Act and the 123 Agreement. The Hyde Act is considered a domestic legislation whereas 123 Agreement an international bilateral agreement. Indian politicians at various instances have asserted that India's obligations arise only from the 123 Agreement and not from the Hyde Act since it contains some 'prescriptive' and 'extraneous' elements. The most controversial being the requirement of the U.S. President to annually certify whether India is participating in the U.S. international efforts to check proliferation, including dissuading Iran from developing nuclear weapons producing capabilities. For more information refer to, Sandeep Dikshit, 'We can move forward with Hyde Act and 123 Agreement: Boucher', *The Hindustan Times*, 5 March 2008, http://www.hindu.com/2008/03/05/stories/2008030559891200.htm

the legal basis for nuclear commerce between India and the US, since India is not party to the NPT'.[29]

The 2005 framework agreement and the enabling legislation of Hyde Act signed in 2006 generated a massive debate within both countries. The framework deal was a radical step for the US and India considering their tenuous past in the nuclear domain. However, from the perspective of the Bush administration the agreement was considered an opportunity to address the most divisive issue in US-India relations and create new opportunities for cooperation, integral to the future and stability of the non-proliferation regimes. As then Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Nicholas Burns, noted in a speech to the Asia Society in October 2005: 'This will bring India into the international nonproliferation mainstream and open new doorways for a cleaner and more secure global energy future', further adding: 'U.S.-Indian cooperation on nuclear energy will therefore strengthen the international order in a way that advances the interests of both the nuclear and the non-nuclear signatories of the Non Proliferation Treaty'.[30] In this sense the US-India framework agreement did not compromise the US' position on international nuclear commitments in any significant way, rather it only made this position stronger as India would now abide by the international rules through a moratorium on testing and placement of civilian nuclear facilities under safeguards. The US-India framework deal was thus a markedly important undertaking for both US and India as part of expanding strategic relations and addressing India's hitherto ambiguous nuclear status. The framework deal thus constituted Phase II of the NSSP, which espoused harmonisation of bilateral nuclear relations, a follow up from NSSP Phase I, as discussed above.

(Accessed on 04/12/13). And Alan Kronstadt, 'India-US Relations', *Congressional Research Service*, RL33529, 2009, pp. 39-40, www.dtic.mil/cgibin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA4948808Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf (Accessed on 04/12/13).

[29] Rajeswari Rajagopalan, 'Indo-US Nuclear Deal: Implications for India and the Global N-Regime', Special Report 62, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 2008, p. 3, http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/488058650SR62-Raji-NDeal.pdf (Accessed on 13/10/11).

[30] Nicholas Burns, 'The US and India: The New Strategic Partnership', Remarks to the Asia Society, New York City, 18 October 2005, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2005/55269.htm (Accessed on 04/12/13).

Once the main 'enabling legislation' (the Hyde Act) as it was famously known in India, was introduced and passed, the formal '123 Agreement' was initiated between India and the US which proved to be contentious but was finalised on 27 July 2007. The next three steps of the 123 Agreement involved: (a) Conclusion of a safeguards agreement between India and the IAEA applicable to India's separated civil nuclear sector and progress towards an Additional Protocol; (b) Achievement of a consensus decision in the NSG to make an India-specific exception to the full-scope safeguards requirement of the Group's export guidelines; and (c) Approval of the 123 Agreement by the US Congress.[31]

The assent from the IAEA was relatively easy to obtain in August 2008 for India-specific safeguards. This was expected as Mohamed ElBaradei, the then Director General of IAEA had welcomed the US-India civil nuclear cooperation agreement in 2005 when he had observed:

> Out of the box thinking and active participation by all members of the international community are important if we are to advance nuclear arms control, non-proliferation, safety and security, and tackle new threats such as illicit trafficking in sensitive nuclear technology and the risks of nuclear terrorism.[32]

However, it was only after significant deliberations at the NSG that the crucial 'India-specific' waiver was granted on 6 September 2008 at the end of the second plenary session under pressure from the US.[33] Finally, the last step in achieving 'full civilian nuclear cooperation' was Congressional approval, which despite significant bipartisan support was hard to obtain. After much deliberation H.R. 7081 was passed and the 123 Agreement now known as the 'United States-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Nonproliferation Enhancement Act' was signed into law on 8 October 2008 (P.L. 110-369).[34]

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[31] 'U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative Bilateral Agreement on Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation', 27 July 2007, http://www.archive.usun.state.gov/fact_sheet/ps_w7.pdf (Accessed on 14/11/11).
[32] Mohamed ElBaradei, 'IAEA director general reacts to US-India cooperation agreement', 20 July 2005, https://www.iaea.org/PrinterFriendly/NewsCenter/PressReleases/2005/prn200504.html (Accessed on 20/10/11).
[33] 'India gets NSG waiver, Manmohan calls it 'historic deal'', *Express India*, 6 September 2008, http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/Nuclear-deal-India-gets-NSG-waiver-at-Vienna/358098/ (Accessed on 15/11/11).
[34] 'United States-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Nonproliferation Enhancement Act', http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-110hr7081enr/pdf/BILLS-110hr7081enr.pdf (Accessed on 01/12/11).

The US-India civil nuclear deal in its entirety as P. R. Chari eloquently summarises, comprised of:

- identifying and separating its civilian and military nuclear facilities (since achieved);
- filing a declaration regarding its identified civilian nuclear facilities with the IAEA, and placing them under its safeguards by negotiating an Additional Protocol (since completed);
- continuing India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing (this is continuing);
- working with the US to conclude a multilateral Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (serious negotiations are nowhere in sight);
- refraining from transfers of enrichment and reprocessing technology, supporting international efforts to limit their spread (being adhered to); and
- secure its nuclear materials and technology through comprehensive export control regulations, and harmonise them with the guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) (enabling legislation has since been enacted). [35]

Under the civilian nuclear agreement, India agreed to separate its civilian and military programmes and to put two-thirds of its existing reactors under permanent safeguards and verification by the IAEA. In return, the United States would be under a commitment to supply nuclear fuel and technology to India. According to the critics of the deal, the fourteen nuclear power plants that India agreed to place under safeguards exemplify approximately 3000 megawatts or 3 gigawatts of generating capacity. By 2020, India plans to add another 12-16 gigawatts of nuclear generating capacity, which in total would contribute around 7 per cent thus making only a marginal difference in India's electricity supply.[36] However, supporters of the deal argued that the role of nuclear energy in future will be bigger, considering the problems associated with the other energy resources to satisfy India's huge population and growing energy needs which were projected to increase four fold within twenty-five years. The latter argument as supported by the Bush administration received approval from the majority of the forty-five nation Nuclear Suppliers Group including France, Russia and the United Kingdom, while Canada and China, on the other hand expressed reservations. Although, the United States

[35] P.R. Chari, eds., *Indo-US Nuclear Deal: Seeking Synergy in Bilateralism* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), p. 6.
[36] Sunil Kumar Jangir, 'Indo-US Nuclear Deal and 123 Agreements', *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publication*, vol. 2, no. 10, 2012, pp. 1-6. See p. 4.

acknowledged India as a 'responsible' state with the ratification of the deal in the Congress in 2008, diplomatically, the acceptance of India as the sixth nuclear weapon state was avoided. This clearly indicated that while the Bush administration wanted to help India acquire the same benefits as other states with nuclear weapons, the NPT was not to be undermined by declaring India as a legitimate sixth nuclear state.[37] As a result, due to severe criticism during the negotiation of the deal in the Congress and the NSG, India was excluded from the right to receive reprocessing and enrichment technology.[38]

This brief discussion of various facets of the nuclear policy pursued by the Bush administration brings to the fore the multiple and complicated steps accomplished that altered domestic and international laws in order to give India access to global civilian nuclear trade, despite being a non-signatory to the NPT. The central contending issue remains that of military nuclear infrastructure in India which is not subject to any safeguards and India being a non-signatory to CTBT or FMCT remains free to produce fissile material for weapons purposes. Therefore, the nuclear deal arguably constitutes a major setback in the efficacy of the NPT, as many critics argue that it has effectively diluted the 'carrot and stick' approach hitherto applied to dissuade horizontal and vertical proliferation. Analyses of different factors that influenced the Bush administration's policy-making towards India in this context therefore become indispensable as these measures reversed more than three decades of US non-proliferation policy and the international nuclear order.

Great power narratives and US nuclear identity

An exploration of narratives around the Foreign Policy 'discursive events' above leads to an identification of five great power narratives that continued from the Clinton administration.

[37] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[38] Although this is contentious as US, France, and Russia have emphasised the 'clean' exemption in the NSG, and are willing to provide ENR technologies to India in their own civil nuclear contracts with India. For more on this see, Rajiv Nayan, 'Enrichment and Reprocessing Technology, NSG and India', IDSA Comment, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 19 August 2011, http://www.idsa.in/idsastrategiccomments (Accessed on 04/02/14).

However, unlike the past instances, similarities between the two nations were regularly drawn despite the fact that the difference was preserved and US superiority vis-à-vis India was sustained. The recurrent use of 'otherness' instead of 'radical otherness' through these narratives enabled the Bush administration to confer nuclear rights upon India as the 'other' so that it could play a productive role in a US envisaged global nuclear order. The narratives that intermittently drew spatial and temporal comparisons for difference were negotiated in sites of: Christian and Hindu civilisations' inclination for peace; India-Pakistan 'de-hyphenation'; world's 'oldest' and world's 'largest' democracies; encouraging 'reforms' in a 'developing' economy; 'helping' India through US 'assistance' in renewable technologies to sustain growth. This section evaluates the narrative identity through these master-narratives, the power and the negotiation of we-ness, and how these forms of we-ness were influenced by counter-narratives both domestically as well as bilaterally.

Proclaiming Hindu civilisation's inclination for peace

The idea that America is a 'peaceful' country by nature is essential for the construction of a civilised country that sets the United States apart from barbarians and rouges. As noticed earlier, during the implementation of the Atoms for Peace programme, the ability of the US to practice and maintain peace was significant, which gave it an inherent right to develop military and peaceful technologies of the atom. Over successive years, terms such as standing for 'equality', 'freedom', and 'justice' have been used recurrently to portray the peaceful character of America that makes it unthreatening and averse to war. As Cynthia Watson notes, the ingrained strategic thinking of the United States as a peaceful nation means America will take military action only in the event to defend itself or to preserve peace in the wider international order.[39] The politics of nuclear weapons/technology have therefore been integral to the making of 'peaceful' American identity through its foreign policy wherein nuclear power worked as 'a

[39] Cynthia A. Watson, *US National Security*, Second Edition (California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2008).

great asset in the effort to promote a peaceful world compatible with a free and dynamic American society'.[40] As per neoconservative beliefs during the Bush administration, 'the enormous disparity between the US military strength and that of any potential challenger is a good thing for American and the world', the reason being US is claimed to be by nature a peaceful nation.[41] The greatest threats in the post-September 11 world did not emanate from the US and Russia or the other big powers of the world, 'but from terrorists who strike without warning, or rogue states who seek weapons of mass destruction', remarked President Bush on 13 December 2001.[42] 'As a result', noted Richard Boucher, the State Department Spokesman on 14 December 2001:

> …the United States has concluded that it must develop, test, and deploy anti-ballistic missile systems for the defense of its national territory, of its forces outside the United States, and of its friends and allies.[43]

Once again the peace of the world was disturbed, and therefore, once again the US had to resort to nuclear weapons as a means to maintain productive peace.

While 'peaceful nation' is a recurring category in America's definition of the self, the root of the term peace lies in the foundations of the United States as a 'new civilization'.[44] As slavery made the colonisation of America possible, it also laid the ground for the enduring legacy of the United States as economically and democratically successful country based on the tenets of republicanism. America as a new nation, turned away from the former practices of monarchy

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[40] Richard G. Hewlett, Francis Duncan, Oscar E. Anderson, and Jack M. Holl, *History of the United States Atomic Energy Commission: Atoms for Peace and War, 1953-1961* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 1962), p. 24.
[41] William Kristol and Robert Kagan, 'Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1996, p. 26, cited in Matthew Christopher Rhoades, *Neoconservatism: Beliefs, the Bush Administration, and the Future* (ProQuest: UMI Dissertation Publishing, 2011), p. 20. This belief reflected during the negotiations of President Bush with Vladimir Putin over the uses of the ABM Treaty. See, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, National Archives and Records Administration, Office of the Federal Resister, 2004, p. 972.
[42] 'Remarks by President Bush on National Missile Defense', The Rose Garden, The White House, 13 December 2001, http://fas.org/nuke/control/abmt/news/bushabm121301.htm (Accessed on 05/02/14).
[43] Statement by Richard Boucher, 'Text of Diplomatic Notes sent to Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine on 13 December 2001', US State Department text, Office of the Spokesman, 14 December 2001, http://www.acq.osd.mil/tc/treaties/abm/ABMdipnotes1.htm (Accessed on 05/02/14).
[44] Matthew Arnold, *Civilization in the United States: First and Last Impressions of America* (Carlisle, Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 2007), p. 22 and p. 79.

which was the reason for wars over the years, a result of monarchy's thirst for territorial expansion. Constructed as a new civilisation in the West, America was promulgated to be a land of immigrants. People have flocked from every continent, escaping persecution, and seeking freedom and prosperity within its borders. As a 'new civilisation', the 'virtue' of America is based on its capability to furnish prosperity and peace which was a natural implication of compassionate, tolerant, and cosmopolitan people. [45] As Campbell notes in his analysis that, 'interpretation of the New World is a historical moment of significant proportions in the development of the modern identity'.[46] In the invention of America, the confrontation between the European, the Spanish and the Christian 'self' and the 'other' of the indigenous peoples is an encounter of lasting significance for the way in which it brings to the New World the orientations towards difference and otherness of the Old World.[47] The parallels between the 'new civilisation' US and 'old civilisation' India was the new nuance in the narrative of peace incorporated by the Bush administration. This enabled the Bush administration to maintain an otherness towards India in racial terms, however, India as the other was postulated to be distinct from 'rogues' and thus could be a valuable partner in America's quest for maintaining productive peace.

The narrative of peace that enunciated the parallels between the two nations in terms of their civilisational heritage based on assimilation of cultures and general inclination towards peaceful resolve of disputes was based on the dichotomy of new/old civilisations. In one of the important testimonies before the House of Representatives in November 2005, Francine R. Frankel, the Director of the Center for Advanced Study of India at the University of Pennsylvania elucidated the peaceful traits of ancient civilisation of India as he noted:

[45] Roger Osborne, *Civilization: A New History of Western World* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2006), pp. 279-280. Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 3-4. Arnold, *Civilization in the United States: First and Last Impressions of America*, p. 88.
[46] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 97.
[47] *Ibid*.

> India's claim to destiny as a great power, despite never being unified as a single state even during periods of great empires, rests on beliefs of its unbroken civilizational unity as the carrier of a superior ancient culture which emphasized the importance of moral leadership over territorial control. In practice, Hindu kings pursued sacral ritual incorporation of conquered local rulers and territories rather than annexation of their kingdoms to establish a centralized state. One result was that India's influence beyond the subcontinent was exercised not by war but by exerting influence through a mix of Buddhist and Hindu religious ideas, cultural forms and knowledge on China and Southeast Asia. This has been called the "Indianization" of these societies, with "Extreme Indianists" (including Jawaharlal Nehru for example), referring to the states of Southeast Asia as Indian "cultural colonies." Related to these beliefs, after India won independence from the British, was the conviction that the country's geostrategic position and size would make it an important actor in Asia and that India would exert major influence in world affairs.[48]

Representations of India as a 'Hindu', 'great', and 'ancient' power with a preference for 'moral leadership' over territorial control depicted India as a historic civilisation that over successive millennia has worked towards peaceful resolution and assimilation even at the cost of suffering severe set-backs in territorial and ethic cohesion. The 'Indus valley civilization', one of the 'oldest' in the world had also witnessed Arab and Turkish incursions in 8th and 15th century. Despite the colonisation by Britain in the 19th century, it was only through non-violent resistance led by Mahatma Gandhi that India achieved independence in 1947.[49] The nature of Indian society was thus peaceful akin to the United States and both were on the same side of the prism except that India forms one of the oldest civilisations while America one of the newest. Both America and India pursued 'peace' as opposed to chaos and aimed to defend themselves only against 'terror' and 'lawless violence'.[50] The representation of India as the 'other' in terms of 'ancient civilization' and 'great' almost created parlance with the United States wherein it's supposed inherent peacefulness makes it less threatening. As an 'Asian'

[48] Francine R. Frankel, 'India's potential importance for vital US geopolitical objectives in Asia: A hedge against a rising China?', Testimony before the Committee on International Relations, US House of Representatives, 17 November 2005.

[49] Major Greg Winston, 'Defense Cooperation with India- Expanding Again', *The DISAM Journal*, Summer 2005, vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 1-13, see p. 1. Richard Boucher, 'New Direction in US-India Relations', India Business Council, Washington D.C., 19 June 2001, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/ci/in/3818.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Assistant Secretary Richard A. Boucher was the head of the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs.

[50] Ambassador Norman A. Wulf notes all civilised nations are against terror and lawless violence. See, Ambassador Norman A. Wulf, 'Representative of the US to the First meeting of Preparatory Committee for the NPT RevCon', Remark to the First Meeting of the Preparatory Committee, New York, 8 April 2002, http://2001-2009.state.gov/t/isn/rls/rm/9919.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14).

power of importance, India then justifiably had to play an increasingly important role in stability of Asia.[51]

The recognition of civilisations as composed of all cultures indicated an incorporation of Indian actors' counter-narrative into the Bush administration officials' discourse. Many Indian officials were averse to Huntington's 'clash of civilization' thesis, which would identify India as representative of 'Hindu civilisation', alongside Western, Islamic, and Confucian civilisations. Most visible during the Talbott Singh dialogues, as Singh reiterates in his memoirs, that despite being former British colonies: '[Unlike Americans] Indians were of a different race and culture. They were bearers of a great and ancient civilization who had been treated, in Rudyard Kipling's famous phrase, as a burden to be borne by the white man'.[52] Similarly, Natwar Singh, the Minister of External Affairs in India noted in a personal meeting with Senator Bayh in New Delhi in 2004, that there was 'No Clash of Civilizations' as far as Islam was concerned. Indian Islam differed substantially from other parts of the world and that despite having the second largest population of Muslims, not a single one had joined the terror networks of Al-Qaida or the Taliban.[53] Additionally, counter-narratives to civilisational representations were also invoked in terms of Hindu/Christian dichotomy in an interview of anonymous Indian officials. According to them, the US did not consult India before or during Operation Enduring Freedom 'in India's backyard' and that in the 'non-Christian Indian Ocean Basin', India could have provided better inputs to the US officials.[54] The effect of this statement can be seen in the consecutive statements by Ambassador Robert Blackwill at a Lunchtime

[51] Kevin H. Govern, 'Security Assistance Cooperative Approaches to Counterterrorism', *The DISAM Journal*, 2005. Kevin H. Govern is an Assistant Professor of Law at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.
[52] Jaswant Singh, *A Call to Honour: In Service of Emergent India* (Delhi: Rupa Publications, 2006), cited in Itty Abraham, 'Origins of the United States-India Nuclear Agreement', no. 9, East-West Center Washington Working Papers, May 2007, p. 18, http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/EWCWwp009.pdf (Accessed on 30/10/14).
[53] Senator Bayh's Meetings in New Delhi, 23-24 November 2004, http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04NEWDELHI7512_a.html (Accessed on 12/03/14).
[54] Quoted in Josy Joseph, 'US tech holds key to Indian bases', *Rediff*, 22 April 2003, http://www.rediff.com/news/2003/apr/22josy.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14).

Speech Addressing the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), New Delhi, in July 2003, when he drew comparisons between Christianity and Hinduism. According to Blackwill, while India and the United States faced similar terrorism issues, in Ramayana and many other holy books 'Good does triumph over evil'.[55] The invocation of the sacred Hindu religious book of 'Ramayana' and 'Lord Krishna's' advice in the speech, sought to foreclose the difference between Hinduism and Christianity and that India and the United States as inheritors of Hinduism and Christianity were on the same side of 'good' as opposed to 'evil'.

As opposed to barbarism, terror, and lawless violence, the civilisations rooted in Hinduism and Christianity were constructed as non-invaders, forces for good, and protectors of peace during the Bush administration. In contrast to the Clinton administrations' attempts to distinguish between 'militant Hinduism' and the 'non-violent' nature of Gandhian peace which subsequently led to insistence on 'capping' the Indian nuclear programme through the CTBT and a halt in fissile material production, the narrative of peace as engendered by the actors of Bush administration sought to do away with this dichotomy, and instead, projected the noble characteristics of Gandhi and Nehru as acquired through the tenets of peace and non-aggression, innate to Hinduism. The preference for peace in Hinduism influenced not only other religions of peace like Buddhism but also cultures of the Asia-Pacific.[56] By this instance, both Christian and Hindu civilisations wherein the former represented the 'new' while the latter represented the 'old', were unthreatening as nuclear powers because both were morally inclined towards practicing goodwill. The dichotomy of new/old was not fixed by any intrinsic characteristics of humanity. The latter by the act of reason could assume the characteristics of the former. The possibility of movement between 'new' (Christian) civilisation and 'old' (Hindu) civilisation presupposes that both civilisations are seen as having same tendencies and

[55] Robert D. Blackwill, 'What India Means to Me', A Luncheon Speech Addressing the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, India, 29 July 2003, http://www.the-south-asian.com/August2003/robert_blackwill_1.htm (Accessed on 24/03/14).
[56] Frankel, 'India's potential importance for vital US geopolitical objectives in Asia: A hedge against a rising China?'.

capacities of the higher standard against which they are judged.[57] The orientation towards otherness, which in this instance proceeds from the postulate of identity, calls into service the fixing of ambiguity and judging diversity. This is done in terms of an unrequited egocentrism which is concomitant with Eurocentrism.[58] As Todorov notes, the orientations towards otherness whether through identity or difference begins with 'the identification of our own values with values in general, of our *I* with the universe'.[59] Thus in terms of India's progression towards the US self-ideal, the other's non-violent characteristics were non-debatable, and therefore the other was much more akin to the self, whereas in spatial terms, the self portrayed the true Western essence and the other was a peaceful power in Asia (or the East). By this implication, India as a non-threatening 'rising power' could assist the non-threatening 'great power' in an establishment of the peaceful and stable nuclear order. The civilisational commonality allows the United States to 'help' India realise its full potential as a natural partner against security challenges and global threats as both stand for peace and justice.[60] As the bearer of ancient civilisation, India had the capacity to transform and meet the challenges that the US as a 'new' civilisation currently faced. Thus the NSSP and the framework deal that spelled cooperation in a wide array of areas including the US-India civil nuclear domain came to be justified. The narrative of India-Pakistan de-hyphenation strengthened George W. Bush administration's claims about bringing India into the centre of the NPT as temporal connections between the two nations were drawn.

[57] Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 103.
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, p. 43, cited in Campbell, *Writing Security*, p. 103.
[60] As declared by Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns and Senator Biden from Delaware in a Prepared Statement, 'US-Indian Nuclear Energy Cooperation: Security and Nonproliferation Implications', A Compilation of Statements by Witnesses Before the Committee on Foreign Relation United State Senate (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 2005), http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CPRT-109SPRT24420/html/CPRT-109SPRT24420.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14).

India-Pakistan 'de-hyphenation': US and India in a temporal dimension

The comparative narrative of US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan nuclear stability/instability underwent a substantial change as the concept of de-hyphenation increasingly came to be associated with differing qualities of India and Pakistan. Rather than the geopolitical understanding of unstable dyadic rivalry that was the focus of previous administrations' non-proliferation policies, the narrative of de-hyphenation de-linked India from Pakistan. In temporal terms, India as a democratic country was now presumed to play a greater stabilising role in the future. Instead of India and Pakistan, now the comparative focus was on the US and India within a temporal dimension and their evolving relationship thus entailing corresponding nuances in foreign nuclear policies of the US. The de-hyphenation allowed the actors in the Bush administration to orient relations of otherness with India, only through radical otherness with Pakistan.

Condoleezza Rice, as a foreign policy adviser to George W. Bush during the 2000 presidential election campaign, made the argument about de-hyphenation of India-Pakistan in her article in *Foreign Affairs*. She remarked:

> There is a strong tendency conceptually to connect India with Pakistan and think only of Kashmir or the nuclear competition between the two. But India is an element in China's calculations and it should be in America's too.[61]

By the year 2005, the policy of 'de-hyphenation' of India and Pakistan had become official and increasingly centred upon dealing with Pakistan and India on an individual basis, in contrast to the policies of previous administrations wherein India-Pakistan were always a joint concern with regard to South Asian security matters and especially nuclear matters. Phrases like 'decoupling', 'de-hyphenate', and India having a 'strong record' on non-proliferation were increasingly being used at this juncture.[62] Ashley Tellis, Senior Adviser to the Under Secretary

[61] Condoleezza Rice, 'Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest', *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2000, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 45-62, see p. 56.
[62] Ashley J. Tellis, 'The Bush Administration in the Indian Subcontinent', pp, 54-55, http://www.ispionline.it/it/documents/Tellis_QRI7.pdf (Accessed on 23/03/14). Statement of Condoleezza Rice,

of State for Political Affairs (2005-2008), noted in his extensive analysis that the concept of de-hyphenation epitomised:

> Bush's determination to consolidate US primacy in the face of prospective geopolitical flux caused by new rising powers in Asia, such as China. With a worldview informed greatly by the imperative of successfully managing great-power relations, Bush and his advisers saw the necessity for a transformed relationship with a large democratic state such as India from the very beginning.[63]

In the following paragraphs Tellis notes about policy as related to Pakistan:

> While thus serving notice that developing a new relationship with India would be a priority and that such a relationship would be intense and multifaceted, going far beyond the previous singular focus on arresting regional proliferation, Bush barely mentioned Pakistan in the months prior to the September 11 attacks. Although the president and those around him recognized the necessity of not forgetting Islamabad, their interests initially centered on New Delhi. This allowed the administration not only to distinguish itself from its predecessor but also to concentrate on repairing ties with India, an outcome that was seen as critical to managing U.S. relations with the other great powers.[64]

De-hyphenation ultimately recognised that the objective of non-proliferation had failed in South Asia. Instead, the Bush administration's focus was now on 'anti-proliferation', which focused on preventing the diffusion of strategic technologies from the region, mainly Pakistan, to the rest of the world.[65] The recognition of importance of each state in its own particular way led to the identification of differing qualities that each state possessed entailing separate form of advantages for the US. Not seeing the need of speaking about each country in the 'same sentence', Condoleezza Rice noted in an interview conducted by Raj Chengappa of *India*

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the Secretary of State, 'The US-India Global Partnership', Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representative, 109th Congress, Second Session, 5 April 2006. 'Raytheon offers sophisticated radar to India', *The Economic Times*, 31 July 2006, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2006-07-31/news/27463116_1_aesa-radar-f-18-raytheon-international (Accessed on 26/03/14). 'Secretary Rice Visits India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan', *Foreign Policy Bulletin: The Documentary Record of United States Foreign Policy*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2006, pp. 280-289. R. Nicholas Burns, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement', Foreign Press Center Briefing, Washington D.C., 22 March 2006, http://2002-2009-fpc.state.gov/63542.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Policy of de-hyphenation extensively promoted by Ashley Tellis in his article, 'South Asian Seesaw: A New US Policy on the Subcontinent', Policy Outlook, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 12 May 2005, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/PB38.pdf (Accessed on 08/03/14). Also Ashley J. Tellis, 'The Merits of De-hyphenation: Explaining US Success in Engaging India and Pakistan', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 21-42.

[63] Tellis, 'The Merits of De-hyphenation: Explaining US Success in Engaging India and Pakistan', p. 24.

[64] *Ibid*., p. 25.

[65] *Ibid*.

Today on 16 March 2005, that India was a 'great' and a 'vibrant' democracy with whom 'we' have broad scale technological and defence contracts. Pakistan, on the other hand, was cited as an 'ally' in the 'war on terror' and a country that the US would try and help with 'modernization' away from 'extremism'.[66] Whereas India was a country with increasingly 'global reach', Pakistan's regional importance as an ally in the 'war on terror' was highlighted. Similarly, acknowledging the merits of de-hyphenation, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (2005-2008), Nicholas Burns noted in a foreign press briefing on 22 March 2006:

> We've also seen a real flourishing of ties between American citizens and Indian - citizens. There are 85,000 Indians studying in the United States. It's the largest group of foreign students. We've seen a multiplicity of private sector ties: the Asian Society, our premier American nongovernmental organization that looks at Asia -- just opened a new center in Mumbai just last week. And so that private sector expansion has been coupled with the emergence of a key, now global partnership, between the Indian and American government, which we think is going to be critical for stability in Asia, in the Asian region, in South Asia as well as in the broader, the greater Middle East as we look to the future. So this relationship between India and the United States is singularly important for our society and for the future of American policy.
>
> Now, I should also say that we have indicated now very clearly, and the President did so when he was in Pakistan, the centrality of the U.S.-Pakistani relationship. It's a different type of relationship than the U.S.-India relationship. Our relationship with Pakistan is grounded in our commitment to that country's security, to the fact that we are partners in our war against al-Qaida, of course there's an al-Qaida presence in part of Pakistan, and against the Taliban. It's our mutual commitment -- Pakistan and the United States -- to the safety and security of Afghanistan and of a more peaceful and stable border. And so we wish to see a growth in U.S.-Pakistani ties.[67]

A strong bilateral relationship with India was based upon a global partnership, whereby economically, technologically, and democratically, India was to play a role in South Asia to ascertain stability. By contrast to India, Pakistan's importance in the 'war on terror' was limited to stability in Afghanistan. More importantly, the country was varyingly cited as 'revisionist', dealing with 'extremism' where the US had to play a role of leading it towards 'modernization'.[68] The democratic nature of Indian society akin to the US yet again played a

[66] 'Condoleezza Rice: Interview with Raj Chengappa of India Today', New Delhi, India, 16 March 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/43626.htm (Accessed on 08/03/14).
[67] R. Nicholas Burns, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement', Department of State, Foreign Press Center Briefing, Washington D.C., 22 March 2006, http://2002-2009-fpc.state.gov/63542.htm (Accessed on 08/03/14).
[68] Tellis, 'The Merits of De-hyphenation', pp. 28-29.

crucial point of identification with the 'other', whereby both democracies were struggling in the same manner with a common enemy, whether it was the global terrorism in the case of US or cross-border terrorism in the case of India. The geopolitical dimension of India-Pakistan was completely overlooked in favour of a broad democratic partnership between US and India based on technology, defence, economy, culture, and societal related aspects. The spatial dimension to India-Pakistan deterrence was constructed as less important than US-India bilateral nuclear and diplomatic relations that were now significant in terms of bringing about stability in Asia and beyond. This ultimately recalibrated spatial connotations through an incorporation of global dimension in self-other relations. Consequently, temporally India as the 'other' was more like the 'self' in nuclear matters whereby progression towards the self assumed greater importance. In terms of race, the other was 'democratic', 'stable', and 'vibrant', and therefore, was increasingly like the self and had the potential to reach the ultimate ideal of the self.

The recognition of US self and India as the other in global dimension through de-hyphenation also led to reorientation of US 'self' vis-à-vis Pakistan as the 'other'. Whereas before the problems of cross-border terrorism were muted, explicit statements were made in the year 2004 onwards about the need to rein in cross-border terrorism from the Pakistani side. A document published by the US New Delhi Embassy termed as *A Shared Vision* in March 2004 reiterated Secretary Colin Powell and his deputy Richard Armitage's clear message to Islamabad that the United States wanted to 'see a permanent end to crossborder terrorist infiltration targeting India'.[69] Both phases of the NSSP (I and II) as well as offering sophisticated AESA radars to India were constructed as a natural consequence to the administration's declaration of its willingness to support New Delhi's requests for 'transformative systems in areas such as command and control, early warning, and missile defense', a policy option that was non-

[69] 'A Shared Vision', US Embassy, New Delhi, p. 16, http://newdelhi.usembassy.gov/ppp_pdf_folder/wwwfpppover.pdf (Accessed on 08/03/14).

replicable in the case of Pakistan.[70] In response to the question as to whether the civil nuclear deal implied India-Pakistan de-hyphenation, Ashley Tellis noted in a personal interview:

> Absolutely. It stands on the paper because we have not given Pakistan a comparable arrangement and that speaks for itself. There is fundamental difference with China's deal with Pakistan. It is clearly a bilateral move. Pakistan will not have access to the international community. And if China does do it, it does not mean that China has the support of the international community. There are questions asked about this every day at the NSG. The Chinese may push ahead and do what they want but the fact that of the matter is not the same as what the United States did with India. Because what the United States did with India was to integrate it in the international nuclear regime and not simply make it a private arrangement.[71]

Similarly, Philip Zelikow, Counselor of the Department of State, a deputy of Secretary Rice (2005-2007), noted in a personal interview in terms of giving new technologies to India:

> We want India to be at the world's top tables, and therefore, we need to free ourselves of traditional constraints on that. We need to be willing to sell defence systems to India in the same way we would sell defence systems to other countries whom we wanted to have a great power status. Rather than being seen as ways to constrain India's power we had to come in with this new approach. By the way, the sale of F-16 to Pakistan will not change the military balance in South Asia. But in a way while we are carrying on through that we want to make the headline that US is opening the door to defence relationship with India that underscores India's rise to the world's great powers… supporting and welcoming India to a great power status.[72]

Counter-narratives within the discursive economy sought to focus the strategic instability of the India-Pakistan dyadic rivalry, which had become evident during the May-July 1999 Kargil War.[73] The logic of 'decouple' and 'de-hyphenation' was therefore termed as 'ill-advised', 'terribly reckless', 'facile solution', and 'never a practical option in the face of the interlinked pattern of the subcontinental security issues'.[74] The nuclear factor between India and Pakistan

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[70] 'Raytheon offers sophisticated radar to India', *The Economic Times*, 31 July 2006, http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2006-07-31/news/27463116_1_aesa-radar-f-18-raytheon-international (Accessed on 04/04/14). Tellis, 'The Merits of De-hyphenation', p. 32.

[71] Personal Interview with Ashley Tellis on 22 April 2013.

[72] Personal Interview with Philip Zelikow on 29 April 2013.

[73] Kargil War (May-July 1999) fought in Kargil Dras sector of Jammu and Kashmir was the first 'limited conflict' between India and Pakistan after the overt nuclearisation in 1998. For an in depth exploration of Kargil War see, Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, and Jamison Jo Medby, *Limited Conflicts Under the Nuclear Umbrella: India and Pakistan Lessons from the Kargil Crisis* (Santa Monica, California: RAND, 2001).

[74] Robert Wirsing, *Kashmir in the Shadow of War: Regional Rivalries in the Nuclear Age* (Armink N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), p. 10, cited in Tellis, 'Merits of De-hyphenation', p. 28. Joseph McMillan, Eugene B. Rumer and Phillip C, Saunders, 'Engaging Other Major Powers', in Stephen J. Flanagan and James A. Schear eds., *Strategic Challenges: America's Global Security Agenda* (Dulles Va.: Potomac Books, 2007), p. 197, cited in Tellis, 'Merits of De-hyphenation', p. 28.

was termed as 'dangerous' by Daryl Kimball, the executive director of Arms Control Association, as he went on to note in a personal interview:

> What is unique in the India-Pakistan context is that just one nuclear weapon has the potential to kill hundreds of millions of people. Particularly there, with the shared border and the large population there is a huge risk of massive casualties.[75]

Although not 'justified', Kimball further noted, the 2005 announcement had practically led Pakistan to use it as 'an excuse to accelerate the production of fissile material'.[76] An outlook of engaging with each country on its own merits therefore was detrimental to the fabric of the NPT as well as regional stability. As per this narrative, as opposed to proper judgement, the Bush administration was extremely reckless in its approach towards the subcontinent. The White House Press Release, specifically released to respond to the critics in 2006 who were concerned about a spiralling arms race in the region due to the deal, concentrated on 'difference' between India and Pakistan whereby it was emphasised that Pakistan did not have the same non-proliferation record as India, nor similar energy needs.[77] As Philip Zelikow noted in a personal interview:

> So the basic thrust of the idea was that we need to basically, simply accept that nuclear India is an existing power. Or another way of putting this is, here you have India which is not a proliferator, it is not cast out, because it is not an outlaw the way Pakistan has become.[78]

Similarly, President Bush reiterated as published in the *New York Times* 2006: 'I explained that Pakistan and India are different countries with different needs and different histories', further adding: 'So as we proceed forward, our strategy will take in effect those well-known differences'.[79] Moreover the individual relationship with each country factored in India's

[75] Personal Interview with Daryl Kimball on 22 May 2013.
[76] *Ibid*.
[77] 'India Civil Nuclear Cooperation: Responding to Critics', White House Press Release, Office of the Press Secretary, Washington D.C., 8 March 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/pr/2006/62910.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[78] Personal Interview with Philip Zelikow.
[79] Elisabeth Bumiller and Carlotta Gall, 'Bush Says Pakistan Cannot Expect Nuclear Deal Like One With India', *The New York Times*, 4 March 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/04/international/asia/04cnd-pakistan.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 (Accessed on 05/03/13).

'exceptional' record on non-proliferation and 'strong' commitment to the protection of the fissile material, arguably where Pakistan had explicitly failed.[80] As opposed to being 'reckless' thus the official narrative by incorporating India's overtly stable role in nuclear non-proliferation attempted to delink the US with adjectives like 'reckless', 'impractical', 'ill-advised' and 'facile'.

The narrative of India-Pakistan de-hyphenation also indicated an incorporation of Indian actors' counter-narratives about the United States' tendency to club India and Pakistan together on Kashmir and nuclear issues. Indian politicians viewed India in a different category to that of Pakistan, i.e., historically, civilisational, and in terms of size parameters comparable to China rather than Pakistan.[81] Therefore, an overt threat from China and not Pakistan was cited as the main reason for undertaking Pokhran II.[82] While Condoleezza Rice acknowledged this implicitly in her statement in *Foreign Affairs* in 2000, India's quest for rightful global recognition was also identified in other official statements as examined above.[83] The narrative of India-Pakistan de-hyphenation also reflected the discursive effort to frame India as a distinct power in the South Asian subcontinent, wherein its nuclear weapons possession was not detrimental to maintaining peace between India and Pakistan. This narrative strategy of making nuclear weapons less visible in the India-Pakistan dyadic rivalry, to a certain extent, was influenced by comparison to US-Soviet Union nuclear dynamics where despite being a threat

[80] Nicholas Burns, 'Briefing of the Signing of the Global Partnership Agreement Between the United States and India', Washington D.C., 19 July 2005, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2005/49831.htm (Accessed on 07/02/14).
[81] Dinesh Lal, *Indo-Tibet-China Conflict* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2008). Sumit Ganguly and Devin T. Hagerty, *Fearful Symmetry: India-Pakistan Crisis in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005). Sumit Ganguly eds., *India as an Emerging Power* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003). Also see, 'Address by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee', Asia Society Annual Dinner, New York, 7 September 2000, http://asiasociety.org/address-shri-atal-bihari-vajpayee (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[82] 'Fernandes Sounds Warning on China', *Hong Kong Standard*, 5 May 1998; 'China Greatest Threat to India', *Financial Times*, 5 May 1998; 'India's New Defense Chief Sees Chinese Military Threat', *New York Times*, 5 May 1998; 'India Defence Minister Says China a Threat', *Reuters*, 18 May 1998. For more on this see, 'China and the Nuclear Tests in South Asia', http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country_india/china/nsacris.htm (Accessed on 21/06/15). For a more recent evaluation see, Jaswant Singh, 'China and India: the great game's new players', *The Guardian*, 25 September 2010, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/sep/25/china-india-great-game (Accessed on 21/06/15).
[83] 'We will take ties to a new level', Interview with Condoleezza Rice, *India Today*, 28 March 2005, http://archives.digitaltoday.in/indiatoday/20050328/interview.html (Accessed on 09/03/14).

nuclear weapons also played a distinct role of stabilisation thereby enforcing peace between the two nations.[84] Predominantly racial categorisation of the 'other' in temporal terms was crucial to the narrative of de-hyphenation as the otherness entailed significant appreciation of the qualities of the other to ultimately assume non-threatening quality like that of the self. In geopolitical terms India-Pakistan dyadic rivalry and the dangers to the subcontinent was subsumed into a more important construction of India as a global power and its role in maintaining stability in South Asia. The creation of in-group as opposed to out-group thus incorporated dominant Eurocentric understandings of the West as 'stable' and the East as 'unstable'.[85] As May notes, symbols that become the core of plots of our self-narrative are not individually constructed from scratch, but are adaptations from the cultural repertoire. They often function unconsciously, carrying the character of our culture.[86] The emplotment of US self through Foreign Policy texts that reconfigured India and Pakistan through de-hyphenation ultimately recreated spatiotemporal resolution of we-ness through which the past and the future of US self in terms of great power came to be legitimised. The narrative of democracy accentuated the narrative of de-hyphenation as examined below.

Bringing democratic India 'from periphery to the centre of the NPT': The geopolitical and cultural dimensions of democratic India

'Democracy' is central to US political identity and a sense of national purpose while providing one of the most important barometers through which the US actors judge and differentiate the US self from other(s).[87] This is because historically, democracy wherein the consent of the

[84] As the policy of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) entailed. For more on this see, Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller eds., *The Cold War and After Prospects* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001). Stephen J. Cimbala, *The Politics of Warfare: The Great Powers in the Twentieth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). Robert Ehrlich, *Waging Nuclear Peace* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985).

[85] More on inside/outside and characterisation of regions in Eurocentric narrative see, Neumann, *Uses of the Other*, pp. 138-141.

[86] R. May, 'Reality beyond rationalism', in G. K. Smith ed., *Agony and Promise* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), pp. 189-193, cited in Polkinghorne, 'Narrative and Self-Concept', p. 148.

[87] See Jonathan Monten, 'The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in US Strategy', *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 4, 2005, pp. 112-156, p. 113.

governed so obtained is considered to be the most legitimate form of governance and a natural outcome of previously failed governance systems of monarchy. It provides a form of government where equality, freedom and justice are paramount making democracies inherently stable and reliable nations. The identity of a democratic nation is invariably bound to the strategy of democracy promotion characterised by US 'exemplarism'.[88] As per this perspective, the United States promoted democracy most effectively by showing other countries the benefits of democratic governance. In *America's Mission*, Tony Smith contends, that American democracy promotion in the twentieth century has been formulated in the frameworks for the world order where promotion of democracy plays a conspicuous role. The emphasis on the management of global security, the world market, the international law and organisation, figure prominently alongside calls for national democratic self-determination.[89] After September 11, 2001, democracy promotion was thus recast as a central pillar of US strategy to combat terrorism and acted as a principle justification for the war in Iraq even when the WMD were not found. The connection between democracy and nuclear weapons is inherent in American strategic thinking. As Nina Tannenwald notes, as per the democratic peace theory, in a world of democratic states while nuclear weapons may not be abolished, they become largely vestigial.[90]

In addressing India as the 'other', Bush administration officials utilised the trope 'democracy' to a very great extent in order to depict India as the part of the community of democracies and thus much closer to the United States than had been articulated by previous administrations. While the comparisons between the 'world's oldest' and 'largest democracy' were utilised in most of the political speeches, a democratic India was represented as 'open', 'free',

[88] Alexander T. J. Lennon et al., *Democracy in US Security Strategy: From Promotion to Support* (Washington D.C.: The CSIS Press, 2009), p. 2.
[89] Tony Smith, *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), cited in Lennon et al., *Democracy in US Security Strategy*, pp. 2-3.
[90] Nina Tannewald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons Since 1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 394.

'transparent', 'stable', 'friendly, 'trustworthy', 'multi-ethnic' and 'multi-religious' nation, 'reliable partner', 'non-proliferator', 'vibrant democracy', 'victim of terrorism' that could play a vital role in counterterrorism operations, strengthen the non-proliferation regime and play a proactive role in maintaining peace and stability in the world.[91] The emplotment positioned democratic India 'like' America as they shared a 'bond' which made them 'united by deeply held values',[92] they both were 'cut from similar cloth' sharing common values which ensure political freedom whereby both nations have an interest in 'consolidating democracy and peace in South Asia and the rest of the world'.[93] This entailed bringing India within the perimeters of

[91] George Bush, 'Statement on the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership with India', 12 January 2004, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/WCPD-2004-01-19/pdf/WCPD-2004-01-19-Pg61-2.pdf (Accessed on 15/03/14). 'Reaching New Heights: US-India Relations in the 21st Century', newdelhi.usembassy.gov/uploads/images/.../reach.pdf (Accessed on 15/03/14). Ashley J. Tellis, 'The Evolution of U.S.-Indian Ties', *International Security*, vol. 30, no. 4, 2006, pp. 113-151, see p. 128. Condoleezza Rice, 'Press Remarks with Indian Foreign Minister Natwar Singh', New Delhi, 16 March 2005, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/43490.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Condoleezza Rice, 'Interview with Shivraj Prasad of NDTV', 16 March 2005, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/43511.htm (Accessed on 15/03/14). Ashley J. Tellis, 'The Bush Administration in the Indian Subcontinent', http://www.ispionline.it/it/documents/Tellis_QRI7.pdf (Accessed on 23/03/14). Ambassador Blackwill quoted in Professor Martin Zuberi, 'The Nuclear Breakthrough', Security Research Review, http://www.bharat-rakshak.com/SRR/Volume21/zuberi.html (Accessed on 23/03/14). 'India', Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, 14 July 2010, http://www.nuclearfiles.org/menu/key-issues/nuclear-weapons/history/post-cold-war/india-pakistan/background_information/india_background.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Robert Blackwill, 'The Future of US-India Relations', Luncheon Address Hosted by the Confederation of Indian Industry, Taj Mahal Hotel, New Delhi, India, 17 July 2003, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/22615.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Richard N. Haass, 'The United States and India: A Transformed Relationship', Remarks to the Confederation of Indian Industry, Hyderabad, India, 7 January 2003, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/16399.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Richard Boucher, 'Terrorist Attack on Indian Parliament', Press Statement, Washington D.C., 13 December 2001, http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2001/6837.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Ashley J. Tellis, 'Indo-U.S. Relations Headed for a Grand Transformation?', *Yale Global*, 14 July 2005, http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/indo-us-relations-headed-grand-transformation (Accessed on 06/04/09). Statement by Secretary Rice, 'The US-India Global Partnership', Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representative, 109th Congress, Second Session, 5 April 2006, pp. 13-14, downloaded at Library of Congress, Washington D.C. on 09/05/13. Remarks by Ambassador David C. Mulford, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative', American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., 24 April 2006, http://kolkata.usconsulate.gov/ambapr252007.html (Accessed on 22/02/14). Condoleezza Rice, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative', Inaugural Meeting of the American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin and the Asian-American Hotel Owners Association, Washington D.C., 10 July 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/68794.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Richard B. Cheney, 'Vice President's Remarks to the US-India Business Council's 31 Anniversary Leadership Summit', The US Chamber of Commerce, Washington D.C., 22 June 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/68258.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Condoleezza Rice, 'The US-India Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement', Opening Remarks before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington D.C., 5 April 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2006/64136.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). 'Interview by Amitabha Chakrabarti of Doordarshan Television of Secretary Condoleezza Rice', Washington D.C., 15 July 2005, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/49681.htm (Accessed on 08/03/14).

[92] Senator Biden, 8 December 2006: S11823 and Comments by George Bush, cited in Hayes, 'Identity and Securitization in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergence of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs', *International Studies Quarterly*, pp. 988-989.

[93] Richard N. Haass, 'The United States and India: A Transformed Relationship', Remarks to the Confederation of Indian Industry, Hyderabad, India, 7 January 2003, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/16399.htm

the non-proliferation framework as Kenneth Juster, Under Secretary of Commerce (2001-2005), recalled in a personal interview:

> The basic intention was to improve and broaden the relationship. Together, India and the United States are the world's oldest and the world's largest democracies, and it was essential that we work together on issues of mutual interest. Indeed, we share common interests such as our democratic values, our efforts to combat terrorism, and our desire for stability in the Asian region. Accordingly, when President Bush came to power, he was determined to try to build a positive relationship with India and resolve major outstanding differences. Part of the reason for working with India on sensitive technology and nuclear-related issues is the fact that India had never acted irresponsibly in the nuclear realm. Although it was not a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, it also did not have a history of exporting nuclear material to other countries…We therefore thought that we could work with India to bring it within the international non-proliferation framework, while beginning a process for sharing civil nuclear technology.[94]

Further adding:

> The nuclear agreement recognises that India is a global player, and we have common interests in fighting terrorism, preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and promoting stability in Asia and beyond.[95]

The role that India as a democracy had to play in Asian security reinforced the subtle elements of West/East dichotomy that affirmed the United States as inhabiting a peaceful western hemisphere whereas India was seen to be inhabiting a largely turbulent Asia in the east. Ambassador Blackwill, one of the most pro-active supporters of the renewed US-India relations in the nuclear sphere, emphasised the stark contrast between Europe and Asia in a speech at the Institute for Defence Analyses in January 2003, as he proclaimed:

> Contrast Europe, where democracy and the market economy reign, largely pacified west of the eastern Polish border. Although residual problems remain in the Balkans, state-to-state conflict is nearly unimaginable in the immediate future, and the next decade promises the greatest peace and prosperity in the continent's history. An enormous accomplishment by transatlantic governments, and by the people of Europe themselves, this is one of the most consequential geopolitical facts for the era ahead. By stark contrast Asia, which has so little in common with the history, geopolitics, and security practices and institutions of Europe, has many alternative futures. Some of these…would be perilous.

(Accessed on 23/03/14). 'The Rediff Interview/President George W Bush', 1 September 2004, http://www.rediff.com/news/2004/sep/01inter1.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14).

[94] Personal Interview with Kenneth Juster on 14 May 2013.

[95] *Ibid*.

Further adding:

> Maintaining a stable Asia in these combustible circumstances represents a complex and abiding strategic mission for India, the United States and all like-minded states.[96]

In stark contrast to 'peace' 'prosperity' and 'liberty' as experienced in Europe and by that implication the Western hemisphere, Asia was wracked by the 'cancer' of international terrorism, severe international territorial disputes, non-democratic rivalries over the right to rule, use and export of dangerous weapons of mass destruction, and reckless governments.[97] The difference between the West as stable and prosperous and the East as turbulent and unstable was sustained because India as a rising democratic power had to assume a special role of promoting democracy and stability throughout Asia. As a democratic country, noted Richard Boucher, the Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, India 'will stand beside us [America] and the world community in assisting those who choose freedom'.[98] It is important to note here that India had to ascribe to the American goal of stabilising the world through democracy promotion and thereby assist the United States in stabilising the global world order. Ultimately their common democratic values brought them together as President Bush remarked during the signing of the Hyde Act in December 2006:

> The United States and India are 'natural partners'. The rivalries that once kept our nations apart are no more -- and today, America and India are united by deeply held values. India is a democracy that protects rule of law and is accountable to its people. India is an open society that demands freedom of speech and freedom of religion. India is an important ally in the war against extremists and radicals. Like America, India has suffered from terrorist attacks on her own soil. And like America, India is committed

[96] Robert D. Blackwill, 'The United States, India and Asian Security', Presented to the Institute for Defense Analyses 5th Asian Security Conference, 27 January 2003, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/16884.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Also see, Evan Feigenbaum, 'Strategic Context of US-India Relations', Deputy Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, Briefing to Harvard University Weatherhead Fellows, Washington D.C., 7 April 2008, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/2008/103809.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[97] Robert D. Blackwill, 'The United States, India and Asian Security'.
[98] Richard Boucher, 'The US-India Friendship: Where We Were and Where We're Going', http://www.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/64230.htm>, cited in Hayes, 'Identity and Securitization in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergence of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs', p. 988.

> to fighting the extremists, defeating their hateful ideology, and advancing the cause of human liberty around the world.[99]

The undertaking of the civilian nuclear deal was described as a 'courageous' and 'bold' step only possible due to the dynamic 'statesmanship' of President Bush and PM Manmohan Singh.[100] The former diplomat and Advisor to the US Treasury Department Lloyd Macauley Richardson defined India's retention of nuclear weapons and non-participation in the NPT as perfectly 'sensible' and when comparing India and the US he noted:

> Non-proliferation policy in South Asia is bankrupt. No one could seriously expect a democratic government responsible for the welfare of a billion people to ignore the nuclear capabilities of Pakistan, China, or Russia. We must recognize this as a legitimate national security concern for India. The United States sensibly ignored the ABM Treaty when the strategic environment changed and the treaty imposed obstacles to the development of missile defense systems. So too, India has refused to be left permanently without nuclear options because it did not happen to have a nuclear weapon when the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) went into effect.[101]

The above statement focuses on the 'sensible' India because being a 'democracy' taking an insensible decision was beyond the gamut of possibility. Thus gender, i.e., masculinity becomes an articulated category, constructed through and by race.[102] However, India was mainly depicted as a 'rising power' assuming global responsibilities which sets it apart as an adolescent male in opposition to the already 'responsible' American role of 'fatherhood'. Therefore, whereas sameness was evident in the masculine traits between the two countries, the parent/child dichotomy worked towards maintaining the superior status of the United States through repeated use of the signifier 'responsible'. The narrative surrounding the deal

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[99] 'Remarks by President Bush in Signing of H.R. 5682 – The US-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act', Washington D.C., 18 December 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/2006/77928.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).

[100] 'Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Indian Minister of External Affairs Pranab Mukherjee at the Signing of the US-India Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement', Benjamin Franklin Room, Washington D.C., 10 October 2008, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2008/10/110916.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Nicholas Burns and Shankar Menon, 'US-India Relations in the Global Context', Remarks at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 22 February 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/81207.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).

[101] Lloyd Macauley Richardson, 'Now, Play the India Card', *Policy Review*, no. 115, 1 October 2002, http://www.hoover.org/research/now-play-india-card (Accessed on 01/03/14).

[102] For a general evaluation on this sort of identity construction see, McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*.

constructed the US role as a 'supporter' of a 'democracy' (India) that was stepping up to take 'global responsibilities'. India was becoming a 'major power' and therefore America would 'help' India in every possible way. The relationship was based on expectations that India would play a 'bigger role' and integrate into the world economy, and would 'assume responsibility' that other states have 'already adopted' in working towards a more peaceful and stable world.[103] The framework nuclear agreement and the resultant Hyde Act of 2006 were thus initiated in this context. The identity of American 'fatherhood', in this instance worked as a form of 'superior masculinity'. In the process of identity creation, a superior masculinity not only seeks to represent women as inferior, but also subordinates the rival masculinities that seek to challenge it. As Bohmer observes, historically superior masculinity always 'worked with reference to the superiority of an expanding Europe, colonized people were represented as lesser: less human, less civilized, a child or savage, Wildman, animal, or headless mass'.[104] While it can be seen, that none of the traditional qualities of radical otherness were utilised through the narrative of democracy in terms of representing India in a negative sense, the depiction of India as 'growing' and 'rising' power in need of guidance and support to advance in the right direction, worked towards establishing a subordinate masculinity of a growing adolescent male. Thus, the parent/child dichotomy contributed towards the emasculation of India and a masculinisation of the United States as a 'responsible' country performing the role and duties of a vigilant parent/patriarch.

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[103] Robert O. Blake, 'Expanding the United States and India Economic Cooperation', 13th Annual Meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce, Maurya Sheraton Hotel, New Delhi, India, 28 April 2005, http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2027_4/Blake.pdf (Accessed on 01/03/14). Mulford cited in Devin T. Hagerty, 'Are we present at the creation? Alliance theory and the Indo-US strategic convergence', in Sumit Ganguly, Brian Shoup, and Andrew Scobell, *US-India Strategic Cooperation into the 21st Century: More than Words* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2006), p. 24. 'Interview with David Mulford', 7 January 2005, http://preprod.iipdigital.getusinfo.com/st/english/article/2005/01/20050126125958.8hvsnbyxpbxyvttmbd_ssgaidni.html#axzz2wtMlFyvP (Accessed on 02/02/14). Statement by Nicholas Burns, 'US-India Nuclear Energy Cooperation: Security and Nonproliferation Implications', A Compilation of Statements by Witnesses before the Committee on Foreign Relations United State Senate, 109th Congress, 1st Session, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CPRT-109SPRT24420/html/CPRT-109SPRT24420.htm (Accessed on 15/03/14).

[104] Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1995), p. 79.

Domestically, counter-narratives sought to annul the categorisation of 'good' and 'bad' states, especially in the context of global nuclear regimes, whereas bilaterally, the Indian actors attempted to delink 'democracy' especially in the context US led global world order. Counter-narrative, domestically, was produced by the critics of the deal who mainly argued that giving India 'exceptional' status would set a bad example for countries like Iran and North Korea, while creating precedence for such countries like Argentina, South Africa, Ukraine and Brazil who had wilfully given up the weapons programme. Moreover, India had violated non-proliferation rules by diverting nuclear fuel from CIRUS for the nuclear weapons programme.[105] As Strobe Talbott, noted in his pointed criticism of the Bush administration's nuclear policy in a Brookings Institution article published on 21 July 2005:

> The administration – taking its lead from the president himself – tends to see the world in black-and-white, good-versus-evil terms. That view has translated into a nonproliferation policy that cuts extra slack for "good" countries, like India, while cracking down on "bad" ones – in other words, rogue states like North Korea and Iran.
>
> But the world is full of countries – many of them, like India, certifiably "good" ones – that have, for decades, stuck with the original NPT deal and forgone the nuclear option. Quite a few did so even though they had the technological capability and what they regarded as the geopolitical pretext for doing otherwise: Brazil, Japan, South Africa, and South Korea, to name just a few.[106]

[105] Prepared statements by, Michael Krepon, Robert J. Einhorn, in 'US-Indian Nuclear Energy Cooperation: Security and Nonproliferation Implications', A Compilation of Statements by Witnesses before the Committee on Foreign Relations United State Senate. John Bolton was against pro-Indian stance of Bush administration, for more see, Stephen Philip Cohen, 'A Deal Too Far?', The Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, 28 February 2006, p. 4, http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/cohens/20060228.pdf (Accessed on 06/05/13). Kaushik Kapisthalam, 'India's US nuclear deal hangs by a thread', *Asia Times Online*, 16 May 2006, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/HE16Df01.html (Accessed on 08/03/14). Henry Sokolski, 'Nonproliferation, By the Numbers', *The Journal of International Security Affairs*, Spring 2007, no. 12, pp. 41-50. George Perkovich, 'Faulty Promises: The US-India Nuclear Deal', Policy Outlook, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, September 2005. Henry Sokolski, 'Negotiating the obstacles to US-India strategic Cooperation', in Henry Sokolski eds., *Gauging US-India Strategic Cooperation* (Strategic Studies Institute, 2007), pp. 7-8. Statement by Ted Poe, Representative in Congress from the State of Texas, in 'The US and India: An Emerging Entente', Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 109th Congress, 8 September 2005, Serial no. 109-117, http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intlrel/hfa23323.000/hfa23323_0f.htm (Accessed on 03/03/14). Democratic Rep. Edward Markey quoted in Jim Lobe, 'US Critics Question Nuclear Pact with India', AntiWar.com, 4 March 2006, http://www.antiwar.com/lobe/?articleid=8660 (Accessed on 04/03/14).

[106] Strobe Talbott, 'Good Day for India, Bad Day for Non-Proliferation', Brookings, 21 July 2005, http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2005/07/21southasia-talbott (Accessed on 20/01/12).

Citing the problems the deal has created for the NPT-led regime, an anonymous critic of the deal and a non-proliferation expert noted in personal interview:

> Enormous problems have already been created. Japan and South Korea are showing a penchant for going nuclear…along with Iran and North Korea, whose belligerence is increasing.[107]

Similarly, Daryl Kimball also noted in a personal interview:

> Where one country is singled out for punishment, where one country is singled out for special treatment, other countries expect that happen to them positively or negatively. What India was being promised was basically the benefits of being a member with equal standing within the nuclear non-proliferation regime without fulfilling all the responsibilities.[108]

The segregation of 'good' and 'bad' states was thus considered to be detrimental for the long term future of the NPT which basically had a universal aspect in terms of adhering to nuclear disarmament in return of the civilian nuclear technologies. While impact on the so-called rogues would arguably be the most, other law-abiding states would feel the brunt making them susceptible to follow the path that India took as Kimball further asserts:

> It also leads some states to believe that, okay we could lead to transgression in the year 2013, perhaps ten, twenty, thirty years later, the world will forgive us if we become economically important, strategically important. So you know it raises all these questions that have long term implications.[109]

The re-articulation of political community in terms of we-ness works from the margins or narratives of members of 'out-group', 'groups whose marginality defines the boundaries of the mainstream, whose voice and perspective – whose consciousness – has been supressed, devalued, and abnormalized'.[110] In this sense, counter-narratives, like dominant narratives they challenge, might be experienced and articulated individually but nonetheless have common

[107] Personal Interview with Anonymous on 3 May 2013.
[108] Personal Interview with Daryl Kimball.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] As cited in Molly Andrews, 'Opening to the original contributions: Counter-narratives and the power to oppose', in Michael Bamberg and Molly Andrews eds., *Considering Counter-Narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2004), pp. 1-6.

meanings. These narratives belong to specific communities with specific scripts. The domestic counter-narrative, as explored above, thus rearticulated political space that linked 'US' to the traditional connotations of 'universality' of the NPT regime that had formerly defined the spatiotemporal resolution of US great power identity.

Bilaterally, Indian actors' counter-narratives during the period 2001-2009 rested on projecting a marked difference in US and Indian geopolitical perspectives, which the common democratic background could not address. An Indian Admiral drew differences between Indian and US societies. As per his statement the former followed a 'traditional' path, placing high value on 'loyalty', 'commitment' and 'long-term' relationships, whereas the US was basically a 'rational' society driven by 'self-interest'.[111] The mistrust between the two nations was accredited to their problematic relationship during the Cold War, where India was considered to be a 'Russophile' despite their common democratic orientations.[112] As Sanjay Baru, a former member of India's National Security Advisory Board and now the chief editor of *The Financial Express* noted that both nations 'come from a past of mistrust' and though 'you can always tie a knot when it is cut but the knot remains as a reminder of the cut'.[113] Secondly, India preferred a multipolar world with it being one of the six poles rather than a unipolar or a bipolar world dominated by the United States.[114] This entailed strategic autonomy in Indian foreign policy with regard to the matters like Iran, that India could not be a 'cheerleader' for the US on the Iranian issue, while the US needed to recognise an 'equitable' and 'plural' world order.[115] The

[111] Cited in Josy Joseph, 'Drawn out, but not ready to fire', *The Rediff*, 24 April 2003, http://www.rediff.com/news/2003/apr/24josy.htm (Accessed on 10/04/14).
[112] Jaswant Singh, 'India-US Strategic Partnership: Perceptions, Potential, and Problems', The Brookings Institution, 31 May 2005, http://www.brookings.edu/comm/events/20050531.pdf (Accessed on 04/03/14).
[113] Baru quoted in Stephen Kaufman, 'Experts see great potential for expansion in US-India ties', 5 April 2004, http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/article/2004/04/20040405191624esnamfuak0.9716608.html#axzz2ws WE61En (Accessed on 23/03/14). Baru was also Media Advisor to the PM Manmohan Singh from 2004 to 2008.
[114] Traditionally refers to Kissinger's prediction that the future world will be multipolar with six poles – America, Japan, China, Russia, Europe, and India. See, 'The Multipolarity Debate', http://fas.org/nuke/guide/china/doctrine/pills2/part04.htm (Accessed on 26/09/15).
[115] K. Alan Kronstadt, 'US-India Bilateral Arrangements in 2005', *CRS Report for Congress*, 8 September 2005, p. 11, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl33072.pdf (Accessed on 23/03/14). Condoleezza Rice, 'Press Remarks with Indian Foreign Minister Natwar Singh', Hyderabad House, New Delhi, 16 March 2005, http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/43490.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14). Also see, Martin Walker, 'India's Path to Greatness', *Wilson Quarterly*, Summer 2006, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 22-30.

counter-narrative to the parent/child dichotomy focused on portraying India as already a 'responsible' country thereby resisting the identity of an adolescent in the process. In a meeting with Senator Bayh in 2004, India's National Security Advisor J.N. Dixit urged that Americans should not 'look at India as another Libya or Iraq, but as a democracy and a responsible nuclear power'.[116] Similarly in a press conference with Nicholas Burns in New Delhi in 2006, then Indian Foreign Secretary Shiv Shankar Menon noted that it was because of the 'responsible' role already played by India in nuclear affairs that the United States had entered into this 'unique' deal.[117] Both racial and gender categories were thus utilised through counter-narratives of a global imaginary and the unique role that India had to play in it. This role was not explicitly tied to the imagery of a US-led global nuclear order as Pranab Mukherjee, the Indian Minister of External Affairs remarked on the Civilian Nuclear Initiative on 5 September 2008: 'We have always tempered the exercise of our strategic autonomy with a sense of global responsibility'.[118]

In an attempt to undo the domestic counter-narrative, the signifier 'democracy' was reutilised on another level of setting India apart from countries like North Korea and Iran. While this approach created a place for India in the democratic sphere, it also recreated the identity of US as a democratic country that is exceptional, as ultimately India becomes 'like' America. For instance, in an interview with the Indian New Channel NDTV, Burns proclaimed that India was a 'unique' and 'exceptional' country as a result this kind of deal would not be undertaken

Devin T. Hagerty, 'India's Regional Security Doctrine', *Asian Survey*, vol. 31, no. 4, April 1991, pp. 351-353. Reetika Sharma, Ramvir Goria, and Vivek Mishra, *India and the Dynamics of the World Politics* (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley Pvt Ltd., 2011).

[116] Senator Bayh's Meetings in New Delhi, 23-24 November 2004, http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/04NEWDELHI7512_a.html (Accessed on 12/03/14).

[117] Remarks by R. Nicholas Burns, Under Secretary for Political Affairs and Shiv Shanker Menon, Foreign Secretary New Delhi, India, 8 December 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2006/77555.htm (Accessed on 27/02/14).

[118] 'Statement by External Affairs Minister of India Shri Pranab Mukherjee on Civil Nuclear Initiative', Ministry of External Affairs, India, 5 September 2008, http://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?18806/Statement+by+External+Affairs+Minister+of+India+Shri+Pranab+Mukherjee+on+the+Civil+Nuclear+Initiative (Accessed on 03/04/14).

again with any other nation.[119] While India was a 'non-proliferator' and a 'rule-bound' nation, Iran was a 'nuclear outlaw', had 'cheated' by being within the NPT regime and was a 'recalcitrant' and 'difficult' country to deal with.[120] 'Democracy' thus provided an ultimate discursive closure. It was simply impossible to compare India with North Korea and Iran as they were 'closed', 'non-democratic', 'autocratic' societies whereas India was a 'transparent' and 'open' democracy.[121] In a conference held at the American Enterprise Institute, Philip Zelikow was most direct when he noted:

> It is justifiable to have double standards because democracies that are true and transparent of their intentions should be treated differently from dictatorships, rife with lies and cheating.[122]

This proceeded into an assertion that the integration of India into the NPT was thus a 'solution' to non-proliferation rather than a part of a 'problem'.[123] Rather than existing in a state of limbo without an undefined nuclear role and duties, having a large, peaceful, rule-abiding democracy within the parameters of the NPT regimes was a net gain. As Ashley Tellis noted in a personal interview:

> India is the only case where you have this peculiar combination of a country that upheld the non-proliferation ethic more or less and yet never received any compensation either through assistance or through any special dispensation of morality.

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[119] Nicholas Burns, 'Interview with NDTV of India', Interview Via Telephone, Washington D.C., 6 August 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/90885.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[120] Nicholas Burns, 'Interview with Aajtak of India', Interview Via telephone, Washington D.C., 6 August 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/90882.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Nicholas Burns, 'Interview with CNN IBN of India', Interview Via Telephone, Washington D.C., 6 August 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/90884.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[121] An interview with David C. Mulford, Kesava Menon, and Nirupama Subramanian, 'Nuclear issue: is a unique case', *The Hindu*, 2 September 2005, http://www.hindu.com/2005/09/02/stories/2005090205851100.htm (Accessed on 10/04/14). Also see, Nicholas Burns, 'The US-India Civilian Nuclear Agreement', The US Chamber of Commerce, Washington D.C., 14 March 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2006/66031.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Nicholas Burns, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement', Foreign Press Center Briefing, Washington D.C., 22 March 2006, http://2002-2009-fpc.state.gov/63542.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[122] Philip Zelikow, 'The US- Indian Strategic Partnership: The Nuclear Deal and Beyond', 11 May 2006, American Enterprise Institute Events, http://www.aei.org/events/2006/05/11/the-us-indian-strategic-partnership-event/ (Accessed on 02/04/13).
[123] *Ibid*. Ashley J. Tellis, 'Lost Tango in Washington', 15 November 2004, Op-Ed, *The Indian Express*, http://m.ceip.org/2004/11/15/lost-tango-in-washington/8fy5&lang=en, also available at, http://carnegieendowment.org/2004/11/15/lost-tango-in-washington (Accessed on 23/03/14).

Further adding:

> So when we began the process of integrating India, which really began during Vajpayee's time leading up to the NSSP, our objective was to make certain that India's export control regulations would essentially mirror the NPT norms. And India has continued to do that ever since. So in that sense you transform what was anomalous, potentially problematic reality into an outcome that is now fundamentally helpful and in our interests.[124]

Bilaterally, the intersubjective nature of identity formation was evident as the description of India as a 'responsible steward' of nuclear weapons was increasingly used by the Bush administration to relegate opposition to the deal.[125] In opposition to the critics of the deal who termed India as 'irresponsible', getting the benefits without living to the 'responsibilities' of the 183 NPT members and that whether India had a responsible nuclear record was 'debatable';[126] the official narrative resorted to the comparison between India on the one hand and Iran and North Korea on the other, whereby the former had abided by the strict nuclear protocol despite never formally being the member of nuclear trade regimes and therefore had acted 'responsibly'. The double use of the signifier 'responsible', in this sense, allowed the Bush administration officials to locate India as superior to Iran and North Korea, while opponents of the deal were termed as 'nagging nannies' thus inherently incapable of a sound political judgement.[127] The nuclear deal depicted an inherently sound and responsible judgement on behalf of the George W. Bush administration thus constructing US identity in that manner.

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[124] Personal Interview with Ashley J. Tellis on 22 April 2013.

[125] Nicholas Burns and Shankar Menon, 'US-India Relations in the Global Context', Remarks at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 22 February 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/81207.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Nicholas Burns, 'Interview with NDTV of India', Interview Via Telephone, Washington D.C., 6 August 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/90885.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).

[126] Leonard Weiss, 'N –Deal is not justified', *Rediff India Abroad*, 6 March 2006, http://www.rediff.com/news/2006/mar/06weisschat.htm (Accessed on 04/03/14). Leonard Weiss has worked on nonproliferation issues and legislation for nearly 30 years as a consultant and former staff director of the US Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. He was the chief architect of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978, which was amended for the India-US nuclear agreement to pass through the US Congress. Thomas Graham Jr., Leonor Tomero, and Leonard Weiss, 'Think Again: US-India Nuclear Deal', Foreign Policy, 24 July 2006, icnnd.org/Documents/US_India_Nuclear_Deal.doc (Accessed on 05/03/14).

[127] Blackwill cited in Steven R. Weisman, 'US Allies and Congress 'Positive' About India Nuclear Deal', Published, 20 July 2005, *The New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/20/international/asia/20india.html?_r=0 (Accessed on 04/03/14).

The problem of the 'past mistrust' that Indian actors indicated was addressed by drawing on common traits of 'postcolonial' experience which arguably were more important than the past missed opportunities and could provide a firm ground on which the future of the countries could be built. Nicholas Burns made an explicit reference to this in his article 'America's Strategic Opportunity with India', in *Foreign Affairs* in 2007, that both nations were 'postcolonial nations' connected by 'multi-ethnic' and 'multi-religious' democracies, however the post-war relations largely consisted of 'missed opportunities'.[128] The representation of both countries as 'postcolonial democracies' draws attention to the common past of fighting for freedom from the British Empire, which supposedly should be far more important than acrimonies during the Cold War period. The notion of common vision and values was also utilised in order to address the differing grand strategies wherein India preferred a plural world order whereas the Bush administration was visibly inclined towards a US-led global order. Subsequent statements by the Bush administration officials sought to negotiate this outlook by declaring that America was 'pluralistic' and India was a 'sovereign' nation with regard to Iran. Democratic identity was again utilised to invert the contradiction between the two nations despite their differing grand strategies.[129] Consequently Ashley Tellis, argued that their (US and India) 'common vision', 'values', 'intersocietal' ties and 'convergence' provided a strong basis for cooperation amidst differing grand strategies.[130]

[128] Nicholas Burns, 'America's Strategic Opportunity with India', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 86, no. 6, November/December 2007, pp. 131-146, see pp. 132-134.
[129] Nicholas Burns, 'US-India Agreement for Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation', Roundtable with South Asian Journalists, 3 August 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/91412.htm (Accessed on 02/02/14). Teresita C. Schaffer, 'Dialogue of the Giant Democracies: India and the United States in the 21st Century', Jane Armstrong Lecture on International Affairs, Bryn Mawr College, 22 March 2007, http://csis.org/images/stories/saprog/070322schaffer_brynmawr.pdf (Accessed on 07/03/14). Richard B. Cheney, 'Vice President's Remarks to the US-India Business Council's 31 Anniversary Leadership Summit', The US Chamber of Commerce, Washington D.C., 22 June 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/68258.htm (Accessed on 04/02/14). Robert D. Blackwill, 'The India Imperative', *The National Interest*, July 2005, http://nationalinterest.org/article/the-india-imperative-578 (Accessed on 07/02/14).
[130] Ashley J. Tellis, 'What Should We Expect From India As a Strategic Partner?', pp 232-258, see p. 245, in Sokolski eds., *Gauging US-India Strategic Cooperation*.

The narrative of democracy utilised temporal themes such as multi-ethnic, stable, trustworthy and victim of terrorism to establish equalities in terms of race, however, spatial distinctions of the West and the East wherein the latter still inhabiting the turbulent part of the world was maintained. Creating a role and guiding democratic India in the right direction, however, enabled the Bush administration to retain a sense of paternal responsibility for the United States. Such narratives that articulate the projections of self and other continue to bind the Western and non-Western, not necessarily in an oppositional dualism, but in a mutually transformative and productive relationship, albeit one that is unequal in its constitution.[131] The narrative of economic progress carried on with the construction of difference as economic distinctions of developed/developing were utilised to sustain the inequalities in political economy so as to solidify the global nuclear commitments of the US.

Encouraging 'reforms' to sustain India's rapid economic growth

The economic progress of the world was an important narrative construction that framed America as a 'developed' country in terms of political economy during Atoms for Peace thus enabling it to assist 'underdeveloped' nations through the replication of the economic advantages available from development of the atom. The key discursive terminology used by various Bush administration officials when representing India as the 'other' was to describe the deal in terms of encouraging India to strengthen *reforms* to accentuate economic growth. The narrative, yet again, served to reinstate the dichotomy of developed/developing that accentuated America's developed status by the reinscription of the North/South divide integral to the sustenance of this identity.

An equally important aim of the United States in forging the nuclear deal with India was to enhance the economic ties with India through trade and commerce in nuclear and other fields, thereby integrating the Indian economy more thoroughly into the global trading regime. Yet

[131] Vivienne Jabri, *The Postcolonial Subject: Claiming politics/governing others in late modernity* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 79.

the protectionist nature of the Indian economy drew more criticisms in the initial period from various policy makers. India was called a 'quasi-socialist economy', while the United States was one of the 'most open' economies, India was deemed to be one of the 'most closed' and 'mostly unfree' suffering from 'abject poverty'.[132] Kenneth Juster, the Under Secretary of Commerce and a main figure in promoting the high technology cooperation between the two countries asserted in November 2003 that India's tariffs and taxes remained too high, its investment caps too restrictive, and its customs procedures too complex.[133] Similarly, in September 2004, US Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs, Alan P. Larson, told an audience in Mumbai that 'trade and investment flows between the US and India are far below where they should and can be', adding that American exports to India 'have not fared well'.[134] The widespread nature of poverty and lack of development in the country was accredited to excessive regulatory and bureaucratic structures, abysmal infrastructure and high cost of capital that were straining the Indian economy and hampering its objective of realising full economic potential. A CRS Issue Brief in November 2004 noted the marked contrast between US trade with China and that of India, where foreign direct investment and growth rates were far lower.[135] Similarly, Christina Rocca, the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs (2001-2006), voiced her concerns in remarks to the Confederation of Indian Industry in September 2003, that the US investment in India had been 'lackluster' due to high tariff barriers of India.[136] The representation of India as the 'other' drew a stark contrast between the US as a free, liberal, open and deregulated economy in contrast to India as a protectionist state suffering from the adverse effects of protectionism. Therefore,

[132] K. Alan Kronstadt, 'India-US Relations', *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*, IB93097, 25 February 2004, pp. 13-14, http://www.iwar.org.uk/news-archive/crs/30232.pdf (Accessed on 09/12/13).
[133] *Ibid*.
[134] *Ibid*.
[135] *Ibid*.
[136] Christina Rocca, 'The United States and India: Moving Forward in Global Partnership', Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs, Remarks At a Luncheon Meeting Hosted by the Confederation of Indian Industry, Oberoi Hotel New Delhi, India, 11 September 2003, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/23987.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14).

according to Ambassador Blackwill, India needed to toss the 'License Raj and red tape into history's dustbin' in order to become competitive and attract American investment.[137]

On another level, the economic parameters of a democratic India were crucial for the common interests to develop in the future. According to the testimony of Ronald F. Lehman II, the Director of the Center for Global Security Research at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on 2 November 2005, the end of 'Permit Raj' had opened up the Indian economy and India would be experiencing 'demographic dividend' that have historically driven economic growth. However, India still needed to be 'groomed' as Lehman went on to note:

> As an economic, cultural, and strategic partner, India could offer much in the years ahead, especially if adverse geostrategic developments in the Islamic world or Eurasia create economic or security dangers, but a grand strategic partnership is not inevitable. It needs to be *groomed*. Indian domestic and regional politics are volatile because of economic, class, and ethnic divisions. For all of its tradition of business and trade, South Asia remains a region in which the win-win often seems alien.[138] (Emphasis added).

That India needs to be 'groomed' worked as a gender construction of an adolescent situated within a wider discourse of political economy focusing on the relatively underdeveloped and volatile region of South Asia. America thus was constructed as a developed economy situated within the affluent region of the stable West along with being a responsible and a mature country, indirectly assuming the role of the patriarch who had to ensure the economic success of the world. Thus, here 'gender' exclusively works through 'political economy'.

As the narrative worked to re-establish American identity, India as the represented 'other' did not remain a passive receiver of identity scripts. While America was represented as a supporter of liberalism and a developed economy, the Indian actors' resorted to a counter-narrative which

[137] Blackwill, 'The Future of US-India Relations', Luncheon Address Hosted by the Confederation of Indian Industry.
[138] Ronald F. Lehman II, Prepared Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 2 November 2005, 'US-India Nuclear Energy Cooperation: Security and Nonproliferation Implications', A Compilation of Statements by Witnesses Before the Committee on Foreign Relation United State Senate (US Government Printing Office, Washington 2005), http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CPRT-109SPRT24420/html/CPRT-109SPRT24420.htm (Accessed on 23/03/14).

focused on the positives of protectionism and 'incremental' approach that has enabled the country to grow at a steady pace.[139] For instance, in September 2003, the same month after Rocca's address, Prime Minister Vajpayee focused on the 'growth' of the Indian economy that had 'doubled' in less than a decade.[140] Abdul Kalam, then President of India, taking advantage of the developed/developing dichotomy reframed it in a counter-narrative in terms of 'the West' intent upon not allowing a 'developing' country to become its 'equal'.[141] Indian economist, Bharat Jhunjhunwala praised Kalam's outlook by elaborating that there was a basic misbelief that a country could only develop by receiving technology and capital from the West, while in reality, the West had no roadmap for the developing countries becoming 'equal' as their strategy was to keep India locked into a 'developing' mode.[142] Accepting the 'autarkic' nature of the Indian economy, Pranab Mukherjee, who was then the Minister of External Affairs, noted in a speech at Harvard University in September 2006:

> The historical experience of the British East India Company, and imperialism in general, left India suspicious of foreign trade. Following India's independence, this led to efforts to build a self-reliant and autarkic economy, wary of deeper engagement with the world economy. The model stood us in good stead for a while. It helped set up a robust technical and industrial base. Self-reliance gave us self-confidence. This provided the base for the accelerated growth and increasing globalization of the Indian economy since the early '90s when sweeping reforms were adopted by the then Congress Government.[143]

The counter-narrative of the Indian officials sought to invert the dichotomy of developed/developing by questioning the logic of 'Development' which contends that the contemporary economies of the underdeveloped countries resemble the earlier stages of the

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[139] Montek Singh Ahluwalia, 'Economic Reforms in India Since 1991: Has Gradualism Worked?', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol.16, no. 3, pp. 67–88, cited in Robert Z. Lawrence and Rajesh Chadha, 'Should a US-India FTA be part of India's Trade Strategy?', in Suman Bery and Barry Bosworth eds., *India Policy Forum 2004* (Washington D.C., Brookings Institution Press), pp. 69-134.
[140] Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, 'India-US Relations in the Emerging Global Environment', Asia Society, New Work, 22 September 2003, http://asiasociety.org/india-us-relations-emerging-global-environment (Accessed on 23/03/14).
[141] As cited in Sultan Shahin, 'India doubting its US 'strategic partnership', *Asia Times Online*, 27 March 2004, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/FC27Df06.html (Accessed on 24/03/14).
[142] Bharat Jhunjhunwala cited in Shahin, 'India doubting its US 'strategic partnership'.
[143] Pranab Mukherjee, 'India's Strategic Perspective', Harvard University, Boston, 25 September 2006, Embassy of India Washington D.C., https://www.indianembassy.org/archives_details.php?nid=639 (Accessed on 08/04/14).

now developed countries. This meant ascribing to the dependency argument as presented by Andre Gunder Frank who contended that underdevelopment does not directly relate to economic, political and social institutions, but as an effect of the penetration of modern capitalism into economies of the less developed countries (LDCs) countries which virtually results in deindustrialisation. In other words, the economic development of the rich countries contributes to the underdevelopment of the poor, as development of an LDC is not self-generation or autonomous, but ancillary.[144] The protectionist nature of the Indian economy was thus a means for escaping economic colonialism. Indirectly, the Indian actors' narrative therefore reintroduced India's identity as a 'postcolonial' nation that was basically seeking to save itself from the colonial nature of neo-liberalism - a mode of operation through which America had excelled and exercised an indirect global control.

The inherent critique evident in the Indian actors' counter-narrative did not go unnoticed as subtle changes in the official narrative of the Bush administration could be observed. The narrative eventually focused on a binary strategy of praising India's economic growth yet encouraging further reforms to meet the global trading standards. While retaining the identity of India as a 'developing' country, this form of narrative enabled the US officials to focus on the transformative capacities of Indian economy that would enable it to achieve success like that of America. Thus in comparison of self versus other, the narrative still retained the US identity of a successful developed country whose growth rates India as a developing economy could only mimic. For instance, in an interview with *India Today* in March 2006, Secretary Rice preferred to use the term 'emerging' as opposed to 'developing' to describe the Indian economy.[145] Other terms used to represent India that slightly deviated from previous

[144] A. G. Frank, 'The Development of Underdevelopment', *Monthly Review*, vol. 18, no. 4, 1967, pp 17–31. A. G. Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967). A. G. Frank, 'Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology', *Catalyst*, vol. 3, 1967, pp. 20–73. The above elaboration has been taken from, R.J. Barry Jones eds., *Routledge Encyclopaedia of International Political Economy: Entries A-F* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 351-352.

[145] 'Secretary Rice Visits India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan', *Foreign Policy Bulletin: The Documentary Record of United States Foreign Policy*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2006, pp. 280-289, p. 283.

descriptions were, 'global leader' among 'developing countries', 'booming economy', not a 'closed economy' anymore but engaging with the world 'quickly' and 'comprehensively' in inward and outward directions.[146] However, these terms were used in conjunction with the need to further 'liberalise' and adopt 'reforms' as India was still beset with 'poverty', 'inadequate' physical infrastructure, 'small and undercapitalized' banks, 'extremely-low per-capita spending', where the agricultural sector was still a 'drag' and the country was typically facing problems faced by any other 'developing' country.[147] According to Ambassador David C. Mulford, in a speech to the Third Indo-US Economic Summit in September 2006, the scale of economic problems was apparent as India ranked as low as 134 out of 175 countries in terms of doing business according to a survey by the World Bank.[148] The North/South divide was again utilised albeit in the sense of promoting prosperity in the South as Richard Boucher, the Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs noted in remarks to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), in August 2006:

> There is a natural flow that we need to create. There is a flow of energy from countries in the north to growing markets in the south -- India and Pakistan both being very fast growing economies. There is a natural flow of manufactured goods from the countries of the south that are needed by the countries of the north, whether they are consumer

[146] 'India-US Relations: A Vision for the Future', Pacific Council on International Policy, June 2005, http://www.pacificcouncil.org/document.doc?id=43 (Accessed on 23/03/14). Richard Boucher, Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, 'The US-India Friendship: Where We Were and Where We're Going', Remarks at the Confederation of Indian Industries, New Delhi, India, 7 April 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/64230.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Remarks by Ambassador David C. Mulford, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative', American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., 24 April 2006.

[147] 'Expanding the United States and India Economic Cooperation', Remarks presented at the 13th Annual Meeting of American Chamber of Commerce, Maurya Sheraton Hotel, Robert O. Blake Jr., Charge d Affaires, United States Embassy India, New Delhi, India, 28 April 2005. Ambassador Richard Celeste, Preface in, 'India-US Relations: A Vision for the Future', Pacific Council on International Policy, June 2005, http://www.pacificcouncil.org/document.doc?id=43 (Accessed on 23/03/14). Remarks by Ambassador David C. Mulford, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative', American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., 24 April 2006. David C. Mulford, 'Speech to the Third Indo-US Economic Summit', Remarks as prepared for delivery, Le Meridien Hotel, New Delhi, 13 September 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/72175.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Richard Boucher, Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, 'Remarks at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI)', New Delhi, India, 7 August 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/70154.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Richard Boucher, Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, 'Remarks at the Indian Chamber of Commerce', Calcutta, India, 4 August 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/70045.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).

[148] David C. Mulford, 'Speech to the Third Indo-US Economic Summit', Remarks as prepared for delivery, Le Meridien Hotel.

> products or goods for their industries, goods for their expanding power sectors. We want to try to promote that.[149]

The apparent need for reform was clear as US-India bilateral business ties and Indian growth were achieved only after reforms were undertaken in the period of the 1990s. As opposed to the public sector, the 'dynamism' of the private sector had particularly contributed to trade expansion.[150] It can be seen that the changes in the narrative sought to challenge the Indian counter-narrative by comparing the progressive nature of liberalisation policies as opposed to lack of any progress achieved in India before 1990s under the operative mode of a socialist economy. Inclined with a Republican outlook of traditionally promoting state-to-state relations, the Bush administration dealt with similar dilemmas when situating the Indian economy within a democratic lineage. However, instead of directly criticising the Indian economy, it was argued that 'democracy and development were linked' while 'effective democratic governance is a precondition to healthy economy development'.[151] India's 'experimental democracy' was largely successful and thus by this implication India could spread its new found economic potential and democratic institutions by guiding the Central Asian nations, that were having a difficult time in making a transition from authoritarianism to democracy along with economic advancement.[152] As per this narrative, only democracy as equated with economic freedom through capitalism could ensure India's healthy economic development into the near future. The change in the terms does not necessarily mean a change in the power relations, however, it only means that these terms of power relations are now coded in a different manner when framed in terms of an us/them dichotomy. As Spivak notes, where the Western-style development is the norm, representation of the 'subject' is coded in terms of us/them dichotomy

[149] Richard Boucher, Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, 'Remarks at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI)', New Delhi, 7 August 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/70154.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[150] Richard A. Boucher, Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, 'US-India Relations', Remarks at the Annual Convention of the American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin, Las Vegas, Nevada, 27 June 2008, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/2008/106476.htm (Accessed on 10/03/14).
[151] R. Nicholas Burns, 'Hearing on US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperative Initiative', Remarks as Prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington D.C., 2 November 2005, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2005/55969.htm (Accessed on 04/11/13).
[152] *Ibid.*

in which 'we' aid/develop/civilise/empower 'them'. Changing this relationship is not a question of good intention or semantics, as development organisations or researchers may now call their subjects 'beneficiaries', 'target groups', 'partners', 'clients' instead of 'poor', 'underdeveloped', or 'disadvantaged', but this does not by itself change the discourse or dismantle the us/them power relationship. Coding, thus becomes important in encounters with the 'Third World', in terms of what positions 'us' as opposed to 'them'.[153] The developed/developing dichotomy was integral to the establishment of the American 'self'. US assistance in renewable technologies formed as a final narrative that significantly drew from the narrative as established during the Atoms for Peace.

'Helping' and 'assisting' India: US assistance in renewable technologies to sustain growth

For the United States, the ability to guide science in the right direction is of inherent importance. Not only has this constructed the United States as 'technologically' advanced, but also capable of utilising this technology for peaceful purposes.[154] Historically, nuclear energy was thus equated to 'constructive' and not 'destructive' force and was prerequisite to global nuclear order.

In various discursive constructions, India was projected as an 'advanced' state with 'sophisticated' nuclear and military technology, possessing 'gifted scientists', 'technologically forward' and a 'progressive' state like the United States, and the scientific capabilities of both nations were guided by a 'common spirit of discovery and innovation'.[155] This narrative

[153] Spivak's observations as analysed by Ilan Kapoor, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 42-43.
[154] As elaborated in Historical Evaluation chapter under the Atoms for Peace programme.
[155] Prepared Statement by Nicholas Burns, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Robert Joseph, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, 'The US and India: An Emerging Entente', Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 109 the Congress, 8 September 2005, Serial no, 109-117. David C. Mulford, 'US-India Nuclear Cooperation', Address delivered by US Ambassador to India, 1 June 2006, http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/asia/us-india-nuclear-cooperation/ (Accessed on 06/03/14). As declared by Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns and Senator Biden from Delaware in a Prepared Statement, 'US-Indian Nuclear Energy Cooperation: Security and Nonproliferation Implications'. President George W. Bush, 'Interview of the President by Doordarshan, India', The Map Room, Washington D.C., 24 February 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/62196.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Message from Mr. George W. Bush, President, United States of America, 17 June 2004, in 'India-United States Conference on Space Science,

constructed India, the 'other', as a scientifically advanced nation inherently possessing the qualities akin to United States. On the whole, however, the construction also created India as a technologically dependent country that had a long way to go. The narrative thus proved to be historically contingent as regular connections were made to the past in such representations. For instance, the first ever cooperation in the nuclear realm was undertaken because the 'other' was basically 'scientifically handicapped'. During the Clinton years, a similar trajectory of the narrative could be observed when India as the other was varyingly termed as a 'second-tier' state wherein the US self was in a position to provide 'technical assistance' in clean technologies. Thus the United States still ended up being in a technologically superior position enabling it to 'help' India in attaining a necessary niche in scientific abilities. As Nicholas Burns noted in his article in *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 2007) that while the deal would not assist India's nuclear weapons programme, 'we would help India construct new power plants and would provide it with the latest nuclear fuel and technology to run them'.[156] When promoting closer US-India ties in his influential paper, *India as a New Global Power: An Action Agenda for the United States,* Ashley Tellis reiterated that the United States remained the 'world leader' in renewable technology and could contribute to India's energy security.[157] While promoting the US-India deal, Ashton B. Carter noted in his testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that it is 'doubtful' that the US will learn from India in military defence research and development, but India will 'benefit' from US knowledge.[158] The Indian emphasis on making technology transfer a 'touchstone' thus reinforced the clear dependency and that the deal for India was entirely about gaining access to the sophisticated technology that America often took for granted.

Application and Commerce: Strengthening and Expanding Cooperation', Conference Report, 21-25 June 2004, Bangalore, India, http://www.hq.nasa.gov/office/hqlibrary/documents/o60391985.pdf (Accessed on 27/05/14).

[156] Nicholas Burns, 'America's Strategic Opportunity with India', *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2007.

[157] Ashley J. Tellis, 'India as a New Global Power: An Action Agenda for the United States', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 2005, p. 12.

[158] Ashton B. Carter, 'The India Deal: Looking at the Big Picture', Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 2 November 2005, pp. 3-4.

The double emphasis on 'advanced' yet not equal to the US technologically, clearly indicated an incorporation of Indian actors' counter-narrative into the main identity representation of self versus other. On various occasions, the Indian elites promulgated counter-narratives in the form of India too as 'technologically advanced', a 'knowledge economy', and emphasised 'symmetry' in R&D relations.[159] During an India-US Conference on Space Science in June 2004, PM Manmohan Singh brought to attention Indian capabilities in space programmes and that cooperation between the US and India goes back to the landmark SITE experimental education in 1975.[160] The contribution of India-origin scientists across the spectrum of the American space establishment was also cited as an example of Indian scientific capabilities. Mr G. Madhavan Nair, then Chairman of ISRO noted in the same conference, that both nations had a 'successful history of space activities and their strengths'.[161] Similarly Indian Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran in a speech to the Carnegie Endowment concentrated on 'collaboration' between the two nations rather than the dependence of India on US, as India too was 'bringing technology to the table'.[162] Anil Kadokadkar, the Chairman of India's Atomic Energy Commission and Secretary to the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) since 2000 was even more direct as he noted in *Rediff News*, that the nuclear deal is 'not about technology'.[163] Moreover, directly challenging US aspirations of world leadership he further noted on the DAE

[159] Foreign Secretary Shankar Menon in Nicholas Burns and Shankar Menon, 'US-India Relations in the Global Context', Remarks at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 22 February 2007, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/81207.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). 'India, US Defense Honeymoon Continues', New Delhi, 11 October 2004, http://www.spacedaily.com/news/india-04q.html (Accessed on 06/03/14).
[160] Message from Manmohan Singh, 17 June 2004, 'India-United States Conference on Space Science, Application and Commerce: Strengthening and Expanding Cooperation'.
[161] Message from G. Madhavan Nair, Chairman of ISRO and President, in Astronautical Society of India, 11 June 2004, 'India-United States Conference on Space Science, Application and Commerce: Strengthening and Expanding Cooperation'.
[162] Secretary Shyam Saran, 'Transforming India-US Relations: Building A Strategic Partnership', Speech at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 21 December 2005, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/indianfsdec21.pdf (Accessed on 04/03/14).
[163] 'DAE secretary on India's energy future', *Rediff News*, 5 August 2009, http://news.rediff.com/slide-show/2009/aug/05/slide-show-1-anil-kakodkar-on-nuclear-energy.htm (Accessed on 03/03/14).

website: 'India doesn't develop technology to become world leader but India does it to meet the aspirations of its people'.[164]

The effect of Indian actors' counter-narratives was further seen as the administration's discourse shifted emphasis to cooperation in 'green revolution' and 'education' from nuclear and military technology albeit maintaining the representation of India as a 'dependent' country. In this context, Rice and National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley noted in a Press Conference on 28 February 2006, the United States and India had closely worked together on the so-called 'green revolution' of the 1960s 'that helped India get to the point where it could be self-sustaining in agriculture' and now India was in need of a new 'second' green revolution.[165] Similarly, while India was a knowledge economy with a focus on cutting edge research in Information Technology (IT), it was the United States that 'helped' India in establishing some of the finest educational institutions, and now an even more ambitious 'education' agenda was needed.[166] Effectively, the narrative constructed the United States as the source of the Indian knowledge industry. Homi Bhabha expounds that within colonial discourse there is a tension between the synchronic panoptical vision of domination – the demand for identity, stasis – and the counter-pressure of the diachrony of history – change, difference.[167] Mimicry in this sense represents an ironic compromise; 'the colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as *a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*'.[168] According to Bhabha, mimicry emerges as the representation of a

[164] *Ibid.*
[165] 'Briefing by Secretary Rice and National Security Advisor Hadley Aboard Air Force One', White House Press Release, En Route Shannon, Ireland, 8 February 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ei/wh/rem/62271.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Richard Boucher and Elizabeth Millard, 'Press Briefing by Assistant Secretary Boucher and National Security Council Senior Director Millard in India', Maurya Sheraton Hotel and Towers, New Delhi, India, 3 March 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/62514.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[166] Nicholas Burns, 'America's Strategic Opportunity With India'. Also see, Richard A. Boucher, 'US-India Relations', Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, Remarks at the Annual Convention of the American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin, Las Vegas, Nevada, 27 June 2008, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/2008/106476.htm (Accessed on 10/03/14).
[167] Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', *October*, Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis, vol. 28, Spring 1984, pp. 125-133, see p. 126.
[168] *Ibid.*

difference that is itself a process of disavowal. 'Mimicry is, thus, the sign of double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualises power'.[169] The recognition of India as the 'other' as technologically advanced yet not quite same as the US 'self' in the above mentioned narratives of scientific assistance, depicted the partial identification or what Bhabha terms as colonial mimicry. This translated into an inscription of permanent superiority and inferiority through Foreign Policy texts as the technological dependency of the 'other' onto the 'self' came to be normalised. A continuation of Eurocentric narrative of Anglo-Saxon scientific ingenuity invoked during the implementation of Atoms for Peace, therefore, can be identified.

Doty notes when examining North/South relations in *Imperial Encounters*, 'Foreign Assistance' is broadly conceptualised in two conventional viewpoints. One stresses aid as an instrumental tool for the promotion of national security and economic interest, the other views aid as a result of humanitarian concerns related to alleviating poverty, fostering economic development and promoting democracy. By placing foreign assistance in the wider context of discursive power relations, the discourse of assistance becomes a technique of representation through which rituals of power are played and replayed with various modifications.[170] In essence, 'poverty' of the 'Third World', becomes an area of concern for the developed state that needs urgent attention. Though not concentrating in formal terms of 'assistance' or 'aid' in terms of money, the assistance to India was to be made in terms of nuclear energy, whereby the clean energy provided a means for India to sustain its rapid growth in an environmentally sustainable way, thus benefiting the global environment. The objective of America was to address the growing energy concerns of a 'burgeoning', 'dynamic', 'developing' economy in a way that would not affect the environment and also promote 'sustainable' growth and 'stable

[169] *Ibid*.
[170] Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 128-129.

and efficient markets' in India.[171] The nuclear agreement would ensure electricity and 'give hope' to millions of people living below the 'poverty line'.[172] During the signing of the Hyde Act into law, Bush indicated the need to address the growing energy needs of India in an environmentally friendly way as he stated:

> …the bill will help make it possible for India to reduce emissions -- and improve its environment. Today, India produces nearly 70 percent of its electricity from coal. Burning coal produces air pollution and greenhouse gases -- and as India's economy has grown, emission levels have risen, as well. We must break the cycle, and with nuclear power, we can. We can help India do so, and we can do so here at home by the use of nuclear power.[173]

In a similar manner, Gregory L. Schulte, US Permanent Representative to the IAEA, during a meeting on the safeguards agreement in July 2008, argued for 'helping' India to generate electricity for 'growth and development' as he noted: 'Everyone worried about global warming should be an ardent supporter of helping India meet its energy requirements with clean, safeguarded, civil nuclear power'.[174] Another reason to undertake the deal, according to Philip Zelikow, was ensuring India's access to clean technologies as he noted in a personal interview:

> And actually it was important to us at that time in part because we were very worried about India's energy future. And we wanted India to have a much greater access to clean technologies, low carbon technologies. India's hydropower position is precarious and politically explosive. India's increasing reliance on coal is not fit for India or for

[171] Condoleezza Rice, 'Interview with Shivraj Prasad of NDTV', 16 March 2005. Statement by Robert Joseph, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, US Department of State, 'The US and India: An Emerging Entente'. Richard A. Boucher, 'The United and South Asia: An Expanding Agenda', Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, Statement before House International Relations Committee Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Washington D.C., 17 May 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/66374.htm#india (Accessed on 09/03/14). Dr. Andrew K. Semmel, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative', Deputy Assistant Secretary, Nuclear Nonproliferation Policy and Negotiations, Remarks to the Northern California World Affairs Council, San Francisco, California, 6 May 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/t/isn/rls/rm/66415.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14). Richard A. Boucher, 'Interview With Satinder Bindra, CNN Senior Correspondent', Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, New Delhi, India, 7 April 2006, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/64260.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).

[172] Selig Harrison, 'The US- Indian Strategic Partnership: The Nuclear Deal and Beyond', 11 May 2006, American Enterprise Institute Events, http://www.aei.org/events/2006/05/11/the-us-indian-strategic-partnership-event/ (Accessed on 02/04/13).

[173] 'Remarks by President Bush in Signing of H.R. 5682 – The US-India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act'.

[174] Gregory L. Schulte, Ambassador US Permanent Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency, 'The India safeguards Agreement: Moving India Towards the Nonproliferation Mainstream', Remarks to the India Safeguards Agreement, London, England, 24 July 2008, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2008/109025.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).

> the world. Increasing reliance on importing hydrocarbons from Iran was bad on many counts.[175]

The objective of the United States was constructed as the ability to protect the world environment and simultaneously support expanding agricultural-energy sectors to fuel the growth of Indian economy. Assistance in the nuclear programme of India was thus not only about alleviating poverty, but more about protecting the future of environment and the Indian economy which was ultimately good for the economies of both nations. As Secretary Rice noted in a statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 2006, the deal in many ways was about 'making life better for Indians, and ultimately for Americans'.[176] The inextricable link between nuclear energy and global environmental benefits provided a valuable alternative for the policy makers of the Bush administration to focus on the environmental issues within the discursive economy, while marginalising the counter-narrative which questioned the logic behind the nuclear deal and environmental safety. The counter-narrative mainly questioned the cost of nuclear production in a country like India where alternative sources of non-nuclear energy generation were more beneficial in the longer term as they were cheaper and more conducive for its growth.[177] Questioning the official stance that nuclear energy would reduce Indian reliance on oil, Michael A. Levi and Charles D. Ferguson insisted in a report prepared for the Council on Foreign Relations that the nuclear deal would have minimal effect on India's oil consumption as 'most Indian oil is used by cars and trucks not by

[175] Personal Interview with Philip Zelikow.
[176] Prepared Statement by Condoleezza Rice, 'The US-India Global Partnership', pp. 28-29.
[177] Zia Mian and M. V. Ramana, 'Wrong Ends, Means, and Needs: Behind the US Nuclear Deal with India', *Arms Control Today*, January/February 2006, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2006_01-02/JANFEB-IndiaFeature (Accessed on 22/03/14). John Stephenson and Peter Tynan, 'Will the US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative Light India?', in Sokolski eds., *Gauging US-India Strategic Cooperation*, pp. 15-70, see p. 56. Henry Sokolski, 'The Indian Syndrome'. *The Weekly Standard*, vol. 10, no. 43. Andrew Lichteman and M. V. Ramana, 'Rushing into the Wrong Future: The US-India Nuclear Deal, Energy and Security', Dissident Voice, 20 September 2008, http://dissidentvoice.org/2008/09/rushing-into-the-wrong-future-the-us-india-nuclear-deal-energy-and-security/ (Accessed on 22/03/14).

power plants'.[178] Hence, the estimates of greenhouse reductions were inherently flawed as Indian dependence on coal and oil for energy generation was set to continue through 2032.

The sustenance of the Indian economy through nuclear technology also inadvertently utilised racial constructions. For instance, Robert Joseph, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, stated in a Hearing before the Congress that the deal provided India 'access to technology it needs to build a safe, modern and efficient infrastructure that will provide clean, peaceful nuclear energy' for a 'modern economy'.[179] Similarly, it was also argued that the initiative would 'help' India and its massive one billion population to meet their energy needs.[180] In this sense, India would benefit environmentally and economically for American firms were 'world leaders' in 'clean coal technology' and other environmentally friendly technologies.[181] The identity of political economy was thus constructed through the category of race as 'technological dependence' of India was again brought to the fore which underscored the need to maintain a momentum that would benefit both the environment and the economy of India.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the US nuclear policies towards India from 2001 to 2009 led to an abandonment of nearly three decades old NPT-centric nuclear foreign policy with an exclusive focus on capping and preferably reversing the Indian weapons programme. Instead, the Nuclear Foreign Policy instantiated through the NSSP, the framework agreement, and the 123 agreement demonstrated the mutual constitution of narrative identity and state-based foreign

[178] Michael A. Levi and Charles D. Ferguson, 'U.S.-India Nuclear Cooperation: A Strategy for Moving Forward', Council on Foreign Relations, CSR No. 16, June 2006, p. 9, http://www.cfr.org/india/us-india-nuclear-cooperation/p10795 (Accessed on 13/07/14).
[179] State of Robert Joseph, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, 'The US and India: An Emerging Entente', Hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 109th Congress, p. 54.
[180] William J. Burns, 'Agreement for Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation with India', Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington D.C., 18 September 2008, http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/us/rm/2008/109962.htm (Accessed on 09/03/14).
[181] David C. Mulford, 'Speech to the Third Indo-US Economic Summit'.

policy. The Bush administration's nuclear narratives created a space for a certain kind of representational practice, whereby identities could exist in a particular relation with one another. These arrangements contributed towards the reproduction of American identity and the concomitant naturalisation of the global nuclear order. These representational practices relied upon a set of oppositions that established the hierarchy of identity that in turn made certain practices possible vis-à-vis India while precluding others. The representation enabled the United States to maintain its identity as an exemplary state with authority over nuclear matters. The official nuclear narrative was thus an example of knowledgeable practice par excellence, which is shaped by power in an uneven exchange.

The construction of identities along the oppositional dimensions created a hierarchical structure, which resulted in a classificatory scheme of identities around race, political economy and gender.[182] The focus on 'sameness' between two countries, however, did not entail a total break from the past discourse of the Atoms for Peace programme. Despite focusing on the likeness between the two countries, there was still an overlap between the Atoms for Peace programme and the subsequent nuclear narratives describing India during Cold War that located India within the West/East and North/South divide. Various attributes were clustered together around the main signifiers, of 'civilisation', 'democracy', 'technology', 'sustenance', 'economic reform', 'strength', and 'responsibility' and then linked to terms like the United States and India. This in turn created a cultural code of 'foreign policy' through which Foreign Policy was discussed, organised and implemented.

The speaking subjects of the official text were assigned a considerable form of agency.[183] This highlighted the use of power in the particular constructions of plots to a very great extent. The power of the official text constructed complex and extensive subjectivity of the United States which encompassed a whole array of interconnected ideas, values, and norms that formed the

[182] For more on this see, Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, p. 92.
[183] *Ibid.*

basis of historically contingent American nuclear identity. The fulfilment of the security imaginary entailed the utilisation of power to negotiate and manage a discursive economy that regulated a certain identity of 'America'. Once, other narratives were subdued, America then became an initiator of action, a formulator of policy, and source that defines the causes of problems and lack thereof, in the nuclear world order. Thus in the dimension of identities, the United States occupied the identity of a new civilisation, the oldest democracy, a technologically progressive nation, a developed nation, a nation endowed with masculine qualities exclusively identified in the form of a 'responsible' parent/father.

In contrast, the identity for India as the 'other' was far less competent.[184] While 'sameness' implied that India had traits like the United States, in democratic and civilisational terms these traits merely gave India the ability to transform itself and be part of a global order as envisaged by the United States. Inherently, India was still technologically dependent, a developing nation, a rising power, a part of the tumultuous East and an underdeveloped South. In the civilisational realm, American policy highlighted the effective role that India could play in maintaining peace. Democracy made India an inherently stable nation, conducive to US goals, despite the fact that Indian and American geopolitical and strategic views were markedly different. Technologically India was progressive, but it was still dependent on the United States to address larger goals of environment and economy that could rectify its growing problems of poverty. In the traditional economic realm, Indians were still considered as inept due to the lack of reforms and the dislike for neoliberal economic structures. While in gender terms, though India was not deemed to possess feminine qualities, the masculine traits were still inferior as they were situated within a parent/child dichotomy. Together these constructions described India as a 'third world' state situated within a turbulent South. The technological, economic, and strategic cooperation as marked through Foreign Policy texts worked towards

[184] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

incorporating India as the other into the international parameters of counter-proliferation where it could contribute towards stable nuclear order through mutual cooperation.

The intertextual practices of these texts attain special significance here. It can be seen that India as the other did possess 'creative agency' to counter the narratives of the Bush administration at each step. The US nuclear foreign policy/Foreign Policy thus incorporated these counter-narratives and formulations while also bringing in the vast narratives that exist in the secondary and non-academic texts. Additionally, the organising principles of these narratives which is the identity of race, was intermingled and regularly used in conjunction to political economy and gender to form a composite political identity. This was most evident in the narrative of civilisation, where references were made to Indian religious history and in political economy that was mainly based on the body of literature that deals with development studies and technological access.

In the next chapter, I focus on these organising components of narratives i.e., identity as produced through difference in race, political economy and gender in order to ascertain the complexity of self/other relations during the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations and their implications for the respective administration's nuclear policies vis-à-vis India.

Chapter Seven

Understanding the Complexity of Identity/Difference in the Great Power Narratives of the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush Administrations from a Postcolonial Viewpoint

Introduction

Chapters Three to Six of this thesis analysed the establishment of American subjectivity during the Atoms for Peace programme from 1951-1960, the nuclear cooperation and discord between the US and India from 1947 to 1992, the nuclear discord that continued through the Bill Clinton administration years from 1993 to 2001, and ultimately the civil nuclear cooperation as achieved during the George W. Bush administration between 2001 and 2009. Running throughout the analysis I have sought to pinpoint the importance of US foreign policy/Nuclear Foreign Policy as a great power narrative that recurrently utilised racial, political economy and gendered markers to recreate and perpetuate the difference between the US and India so as to reinstate US identity as the arbiter of the global nuclear order. Great power narratives primarily concern emplotting the self, which leads to the performative constitution of identity through repeated enactments of 'who we are', 'what we want', and 'what kind of system we want'. The narratives of peace and justice, democracy, scientific assistance, and economic progress during the Cold War years were reused in the post-Cold War by the concerned administrations that engendered inequalities through identity/difference. The usage of identities in both administrations drew upon inequalities enabling them to adopt their respective policy stance towards India. In the case of the Clinton administration it was 'halt', 'cap' and preferably 'reversal' of the weapons programme before embarking on full-fledged normalisation of relations, and during the Bush administration the signing of the 'civil nuclear deal' was achieved along-with an acknowledgement of India's de-facto nuclear status. Despite the fact that India as the 'other' remained unequal under both strategies of representation, the policy of each administration differed markedly from one another. A postcolonial viewpoint with an

emphasis on imperialism offers a perspective to gauge how inequalities in the relationship of self versus other enabled both the administrations to adopt their respective nuclear policies towards India.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, in order to comprehend the subtle difference in each administration's approach, identity/difference should be understood in terms of *radical otherness* (absolute 'other' with no similarities) and *otherness* ('other' as temporarily progressing towards the 'self' where similarities are routinely drawn), within an overarching framework of inequality. 'Degrees of difference' affords an analytical spectrum of identity that varies from radical otherness to otherness in the dual relationship of self/other in postcolonial encounters. Especially, when imperialism is an organising principle of great power narratives, the identity of the other within each of the discursive encounters or narratives, differs substantially on the temporal and spatial dimensions, ultimately co-constituting policy options. The temporal and spatial dimensions of identity formation rests on utilising temporal and spatial themes through identity markers of 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender'. For example, temporal themes such as progression, development, and change are routinely used in conjunction with spatial geo-political elicitations as crafted through narratives of civilisation, political, and economic forms of progress or stasis. Hence identities of race, political economy and gender are always articulated through temporal and spatial themes. For instance, during the Spanish conquest of the Americas, Cortes and Las Casas diverged in their policy options with regard to the Indians, as the former stressed upon annihilation and the latter on assimilation through conversion. Although both discourses constructed the Indians as 'savages' they differed radically in terms of representing the temporal identity of Indian 'other'. For Cortes, Indians were 'savage' non-humans incapable of change, but for Casas though Indians were 'noble savage', they were humans with the capacity to transform.[1] The spatiotemporal

[1] For more on this see, Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice*, p. 43.

resolution of the great power identity thus rests on marking alterities that are based on judgements of whether the 'other' is progressing towards the 'self-ideal' or not.

In this light the questions to be addressed in the present chapter are: What sort of constructions have been utilised or incorporated to create the difference on the scale of degrees of difference? Is the 'other' seen in an exclusively negative light and therefore placed within the narrative framework of 'radical otherness' or is some sort of elementary similarity routinely utilised through these narratives to imply 'otherness'? The mutual representation that constitutes subjectivities in narrative accounts does not explicitly rely on negative 'othering' but can be based on positive 'othering' as well. However, when understood within temporal and spatial dimensions of identity, the 'other' lacks the ability to become like self, as the 'self' always remains paramount. Great power narratives are hence imperial in nature as they draw upon inequalities.

Based on the framework of 'degrees of difference', this chapter analyses the relations of identity/difference from an imperial angle as portrayed through the identity markers of race, political economy, and gender within each great power narrative, i.e., the civilisations' inclination for peace and justice, India-Pakistan deterrence instability, democracy means freedom, economic progress, and technological assistance. The chapter then concludes with the summary of the main argument with an assessment of to what extent George W. Bush administration's nuclear foreign policy towards India diverged from that of the Clinton administration.

Degrees of difference in identity of race

Narratives of peace and justice, democratic freedom, US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence stability/instability, and technological assistance, focused on racial othering albeit to different degrees in order to create identities that would define a particular course of foreign policy action and vice-versa. The narratives of both administrations, to a varying degree

incorporated tropes and linguistic elements from the past narratives that crafted American nuclear subjectivity during implementation of the Atoms for Peace programme and US-India bilateral nuclear relations in the interim years thus indicating a link between 'foreign policy' and Foreign Policy. Different linguistic elements or tropes from different time periods were projected as a whole, thus transforming discontinuous events through emplotment which provided positive and negative subject positions characterising responses.

The narrative of peace and justice was centred on the civilisational attributes of Christendom as opposed to Hinduism. Nonetheless, Hinduism during the Clinton administration was largely portrayed in radical and militant form, whereas during the Bush administration, the peaceful legacy was emphasised. In racial terms the construction of self versus other centred on the civilisational commonality between both nations. Both administrations sought to utilise the civilisational qualities in relation to India as the 'other', albeit differed on temporal level. For instance, in the construction of American identity as 'civilised' during the Clinton administration, more emphasis was laid on the 'radical' and 'militant' qualities of the BJP brand of Hinduism.[2] Consequently, fundamental Hinduism was harmful and regressive in nature unlike the Christian 'self' that pursued 'non-violence', 'peace' and was a beacon of 'hope'.[3] The Clinton administration securely placed the American 'self' as opposed to the Indian 'other', in terms of 'radical otherness' where Hindutva as practiced by the BJP was 'militant' and 'radical'. For the Clinton administration as opposed to Hinduism, the Gandhian-Nehruvian principles of peace, justice, and tolerance of diversity were far more amenable in terms of securing peace in the nuclear armed world. The BJP's choice of acquiring nuclear weapons was dubbed 'against humanity' and the very essence of non-violence as purported by Gandhi.[4] The focus on the BJP brand of Hinduism as divorced from Gandhi-Nehruvian

[2] Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 27 and p. 45. Statement by Inderfurth and Einhorn, 'Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests; India and Pakistan: What Next?', p. 31 and p. 40.
[3] 'On the Record Briefing Deputy Secretary Talbott on India and Pakistan', US Department of State, Office of the Spokesman, 28 May 1998, and 'President William Jefferson Clinton Remarks on MFN and South Asia', The White House, Washington D.C., 3 June 1998.
[4] *Ibid*.

ideology of peace, enabled the Clinton administration to make historical comparisons between the Christian 'self' and Gandhi's peaceful struggle for independence. This portrayed US identity as a postcolonial nation rather than a colonial country as opposed to what India claimed in terms of the core characteristics of the NPT. 'Hinduism' as a trope was also utilised by the Bush administration in creating difference from India albeit in a different way. India was largely defined as an old/ancient civilisation that has practiced peace over successive years.[5] The practice of peace was largely accredited to the tolerance of Hindu kings, who gave importance to 'moral leadership' over territorial control.[6] The birth of the Gandhian legacy of peace was thus constructed as a continuation of these peaceful characteristics of ancient Hindu civilisation. The representation of the 'other' established similarity between both nations in terms of civilisation and religion, where teachings of both Krishna and Jesus professed 'good' as opposed to 'evil'.[7] In this sense, the nuclear capability of India was not dangerous and could be transformative in terms of working with America to secure peace and stability. Though historical comparisons were made here as well, the narrative perpetuated the idea that commitment to peace was important above all else, such as giving credence to the colonial or postcolonial past. In terms of temporal themes as utilised through race, the Clinton administration's narrative focused on stasis through the utilisation of tropes such as 'religious zealots', 'prestige', 'chauvinism', 'evil' and 'against humanity'. The Bush administration on the other hand focused on progress with tropes such as 'ancient power', 'moral leadership', and 'forces for good' being utilised. A spatial dimension to racial identity was also utilised at this point, as India as an 'Asian' power of importance had to work towards stabilising that part of the world. Thus temporal and spatial themes were utilised through racial othering as both administrations emplotted the 'self' through the narrative of peace and justice by focusing on

[5] Major Winston, 'Defense Cooperation with India- Expanding Again', see p. 1. Boucher, 'New Direction in US-India Relations'.
[6] Frankel, 'India's potential importance for vital US geopolitical objectives in Asia: A hedge against a rising China?'.
[7] Blackwill, 'What India Means to Me', A Luncheon Speech Addressing the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

the religious heritage of Christianity and Hinduism, albeit differed on the spectrum of degrees of difference by placing the duality of America-India identity within the identity parameters of 'radical otherness' and 'otherness'.

The comparative narrative of US-Soviet Union/India-Pakistan deterrence stability/instability utilised geopolitical dimensions of the India-Pakistan dyadic nuclear rivalry, but again different degrees. During the Clinton administration the dangers of nuclear escalation between the India 'other' as a part of India-Pakistan deterrence assumed significant importance, however, during the Bush administration, India and Pakistan were de-hyphenated. Instead, the US and India as democracies and stable powers were to play a role in stabilising the region and the world. Thus the temporal identity was defined through spatial othering in race, as the capability and characteristics of 'other' came to be judged in opposition to the 'self'. For the Clinton administration, the geographical proximity of India-Pakistan in terms of the common border and the dangerous rivalry accentuated by historical animosity, framed the 'other' as a part of 'volatile' and 'catastrophic' dyadic rivalry.[8] The 'strategic instability' that defined the military/nuclear status of the 'other' was thus different from the American 'self' that was relatively stable in US-Soviet Union nuclear deterrence relationship whereby both were divided by thousands of miles and had stable nuclear deterrence protocols combined with sound command and control systems.[9] Unlike the brute military logic of Indian nuclear deterrence, the nuclear weapons also held politico/cultural importance for the US as the Soviet 'other' was also a cultural threat. US nuclear weapons were constructed as a stabilising force in the context of Cold War bipolar politics. Under these circumstances, India as the 'other' was represented as less capable of maintaining nuclear stability, it was reasonable that the 'other' proactively supported the five-benchmarks so as to maintain regional and global stability. Ultimately, the NPT-led global nuclear order was to be adhered to. The Bush administration constructed India

[8] Perry quoted in Dana Priest, 'U.S. Hopes India Accord Will Reduce Nuclear Threat in South Asia', *The Washington Post*, 14 January 1995.
[9] Bereuter, 'India-Pakistan Nuclear Proliferation', 18 June 1998, see p. 1.

as a 'vibrant' democracy with 'global reach', which shared flourishing 'cultural' and 'societal' ties with the United States.[10] Whereas Pakistan was termed as an 'ally' in the 'war on terror', it was varyingly represented as a 'revisionist' state, dealing with 'extremism'.[11] Unlike India, Pakistan also did not have a 'strong' non-proliferation record.[12] Instead of the geopolitical/spatial dimensions of the India-Pakistan dyadic nuclear rivalry, India assumed greater significance for the Bush administration as a 'rising' power in Asia. A management of great power relations necessarily entailed a transformed relationship with a 'democratic' state India that was at the centre of geopolitical 'flux' in 'Asia'.[13] An emphasis on 'anti-proliferation' wherein assistance of India could be acquired in maintaining global nuclear order was termed as more practical than 'non-proliferation'.[14] In this context, India was to be supported through transformative command and control systems as the framework announcement emphasised.[15] As the 'other' was increasingly termed as 'vibrant' and 'democratic' with 'global reach', temporality in racial terms meant that the other was progressing towards the self 'ideal'. Thus geopolitical connotations of India's importance in Asia and beyond and US-India cooperation in maintaining global stability assumed greater importance than the claims about regional instability. Thus while the Clinton administration maintained 'radical otherness' in race in terms of non-progression towards the US self, the George W. Bush administration incorporated 'otherness' in racial terms, wherein the 'other' was progressing towards the self. In spatial dimensions, the India as 'other' assumed greater importance as part of regional rivalry between India-Pakistan which entailed instability during Clinton administration, while during Bush

[10] 'Interview with Raj Chengappa of India Today', Secretary Condoleezza Rice, New Delhi, India, 16 March 2006. Burns, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement', 22 March 2006.
[11] Tellis, 'The Merits of Dehyphenation: Explaining US Success in Engaging India and Pakistan', *The Washington Quarterly*.
[12] Burns, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement', *Foreign Press Center Briefing*, Washington D.C., 22 March 2006.
[13] Tellis, 'The Merits of De-hyphenation', p. 24.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 25-26.
[15] 'Raytheon offers sophisticated radar to India', *The Economic Times*, 31 July 2006. Tellis, 'The Merits of De-hyphenation', p. 32.

administration, India assumed greater importance as a rising power of consequence in Asia and beyond which could ensure global stability.

In racial terms, the difference from the 'other' is hinged upon the attributes of a democratic country that makes it a 'great' nation.[16] During the Clinton administration, 'Greatness' was correlated with the ability to guide the world in the right direction.[17] A 'democratic' country displays greatness in the nuclear realm only when it pursues goals like disarmament that ensure peace and stability. Since India was averse to disarmament and had taken a mammoth step in terms of becoming an overt nuclear power, it was perceptibly against the essential democratic element of acquiring world-wide freedom from injustice and violence. India was thus defined as 'backward', 'dangerous' and 'regressive' in nature whereas America was largely portrayed as 'progressive' democratic country.[18] Later on it can be observed, after the Kargil War in 1999 and over the course of Clinton's visit to India, there was a subtle change in terms of appreciating the democratic credentials of India as the 'world's largest democracy' and that both nations were 'conceived in liberty, each finding strength in its diversity, each seeing in the other a reflection of its own apparition for more humane and just world'.[19] Although, India as the 'other' was regarded in similar terms, it was still maintained that India's greatness as manifested through its democracy could be greatly enhanced only through 'nuclear restraint' and that pursuing weapons would send a 'bad signal'. In temporal terms, India as the 'other' was still not progressing towards the 'self'. Moreover, 'democracy' was about 'dialogue' and hence India had the special opportunity of building relationships with its neighbours, i.e.,

[16] More on democracy and greatness see, Montserrat Guibernau, *The Identity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).
[17] 'Remarks by the President to the Pool', 17 May 1998.
[18] 'Radio Address by the President to the Nation', The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 16 May 1998. 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Samuel Berger', Radisson SAS Hotel, Berlin, Germany, 13 May 1998. 'President William Jefferson Clinton Radio Address', Birmingham, England, Box 36 and 39. Also see, the statement by US Ambassador to India Richard Frank Celeste, 'Indian News Agency Reports US Envoy's Lack of Trust on Nuclear Weapon Use', *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, 1 August 1998.
[19] 'Sense of House Regarding United – States India Relations', Congressional Record House: Proceedings and Debates of the 106th Congress, 27 July 2000 to 12 September 2000, p. 177843.

Pakistan.[20] Thus in spatial terms the regional focus was again factored in. It can be argued that a shift from 'radical otherness' to 'otherness' was mainly possible due to the need to improve relations during the latter years of the Clinton administration amidst the acceptance of the fact that a reversal of India's weapons programme was largely an unattainable aim but capping and restraint were still achievable.[21] During the Bush administration, the trope 'greatness' was replaced by democracy as being a 'unique' and an 'exceptional' national attribute. India as the 'other' was largely defined as a 'unique' and an 'exceptional' democratic country that was 'trustworthy', stood for 'political freedom' and 'liberty'.[22] India was thus capable of playing a proactive role of consolidating peace and democracy in the East. The solution Bush administration preferred was to separate 'democracy' from 'non-democracy', especially within an international environment where non-democratic regimes were construed as a threat to US security. The drawing of similar traits through the politics of otherness re-scripted the democratic character of America as associated with the exceptional nature of its history and society. Thus the degrees of difference, enabled the Clinton administration to represent the 'other' in terms of 'radical otherness', immediately after overt nuclearisation, wherein temporal themes of not progressing towards the 'self' were utilised. During the visit to India 'otherness' in terms of under what kind of conditions could India progress towards the US self were evaluated, wherein, explicit emphasis was placed on dialogue and giving up of weapons option for the greater good. The Bush administration utilised 'otherness' in the value judgement of India, where similarities in terms of democratic parlance were sketched. However, in spatial terms the narrative of democracy largely focused on instability in the South Asian region during the Clinton administration, whereas during the Bush administration the focus was on the Indian role as a stable democracy in promoting stability in Asia and the larger East. In both instances,

[20] 'Remarks by the President and Prime Minister Vajpayee of India in Joint Press Statement', Hyderabad House, New Delhi, India, 21 March 2000.
[21] As stated by Robert Einhorn that at this point 'rollback' was largely considered an untenable policy. Personal Interview with Robert Einhorn on 3 June 2013.
[22] Burns, 'Interview with NDTV of India', Interview Via Telephone, Washington D.C., 6 August 2007.

geo-political constructions of the West as stable and the East as unstable were upheld through the Foreign Policy texts.

Through the narrative of technological assistance, the Clinton administration represented further technological development in ballistic missile technology as a threatening development on the subcontinent that could worsen India-Pakistan security rather than improve it. The administration's reiteration of India having acquired peaceful technology from the US and utilising it for further scientific advancement places India as a 'second-tier' state that requires technological 'assistance' from the West and then through its own indigenous effort is able to build sophisticated advanced technology.[23] The incorporation of 'otherness' allowed the administration to maintain an identity of the US as a 'leader' in scientific technology that has enabled other countries to develop peaceful uses of atom, including India.[24] Whether the technology is misused or abused entirely depends on the country that receives it. This displays the unethical nature of a society that abuses such protocols. India was thus constituted as a country largely 'dependent' upon the Western nations for nuclear technology. In temporal and spatial terms this entailed a permanent relegation of India as a technologically dependent country despite potential scientific capabilities, as the 'other' could not match the capabilities of the Western 'self'. Although, the Indian scientific credentials were appreciated with recurrent usage of terms like 'technologically forward' and a 'progressive state', the narrative of the Bush administration also framed India as a technologically 'dependent' country that would benefit from further collaboration in the field of environmental and civil nuclear

[23] Statement of Fred C. Ikle, Former Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 'Crisis in South Asia: India's Nuclear Tests; Pakistan's Nuclear Tests: India and Pakistan: What next?', Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations 105th Congress. Also see, Tim Weiner, 'Nuclear Anxiety: The History; Nuclear Programs Built on Deceit and Fear', *The New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/17/world/nuclear-anxiety-the-history-nuclear-programs-built-on-deceit-and-fear.html (Accessed on 10/09/14).

[24] Executive Summary of the Report of the Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States, 15 July 1998, 104th Congress, pp. 16 and 18-19. Inderfurth, 'Crisis in South Asia', p. 17.

technologies as the United States was still a 'world leader' in renewable technology.[25] The only difference between the narratives of the two administrations was the connection between *scientific ability* and *security*. For the Clinton administration, further advancement in the nuclear realm meant the worsening of Indian national security; however for the Bush administration, the security of India could only be enhanced through cooperation in nuclear energy security. The value judgement of the 'other' therefore maintained the main description of unequal 'other' through incorporation of 'otherness'.

The identity of political economy also utilised through the analytical spectrum of degrees of difference recreated self-other relations in temporal and spatial dimensions.

Degrees of difference in identity of political economy

The narratives of US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence stability/instability, the economy on to a path of reforms, and technological assistance utilised the identity of political economy to create difference from the Indian 'other', albeit again to different degrees through the Foreign Policy texts.

In the comparative narrative of US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence, the Clinton administration directed attention towards the resource constraints on developing countries like India and Pakistan. While the United States and the Soviet Union had spent 'hundreds of billions of dollars', on nuclear command and control, the 'economic dimension' to security was constructed as pertinent in the case of India-Pakistan, as it would lead to an 'economic burden' and high 'price tag' that would ultimately make the people of India and Pakistan 'poorer and less secure'.[26] The developed/developing dichotomy thus led to the creation of 'radical

[25] Statement by Nicholas Burns and Robert Joseph, 'The US and India: An Emerging Entente', 8 September 2005. Tellis, 'India as a New Global Power: An Action Agenda for the United States', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., 2005, p. 12.

[26] 'India-Pakistan Nuclear Proliferation', Hearing before the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, 105th Congress, p. 2. Talbott, *Engaging India*, p. 95. 'Albright to India and Pakistan: 'Cool it", *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, 3 June 1998. John F. Burns, 'Proceedings and Debates of the 104th Congress', 2nd Session, Congressional Record, House of Representatives – Friday, 26 January 1996. Inderfurth, 'Crisis in South Asia', p. 8. 'Press Briefing by Secretary of the State

otherness' as temporally and spatially both India and Pakistan were developing and still poor economies located in the turbulent South Asian region. Consequently, in order to avoid a complete economic destruction it was imperative that both countries considered capping or a complete reversal of their nuclear weapons programmes. As the Bush administration de-hyphenated India and Pakistan, the developed/developing dichotomy was not directly utilised as India was constructed as an important country in terms of 'global partnership' and a critical partner in bringing about stability in the Asian region. While Pakistan was important as an ally in the war against terror, the relationship with India was represented as a matter of bringing about 'critical stability' in Asia and beyond.[27] Thus utilisation of the developed/developing dichotomy was markedly absent in the narrative account, as broad partnership in defence and technology related matters between the US and India was constructed to be of greater importance. Otherness in terms of progression and transformation towards self was utilised, ultimately, leading to de-recognition of the dyadic nuclear rivalry between India and Pakistan.

In terms of the narrative of economic progress and reforms, both administrations' value judgement of the 'other' traversed from 'radical otherness' to 'otherness', nevertheless, in both instances the 'developing' status of the 'other' and the 'developed' status of the 'self' was maintained. For instance, the initial assessment of India during the Clinton administration centred on the usage of tropes such as 'crumbling economy', 'statist', 'sclerotic economy' with 'top-down' management.[28] Temporally, the identity thus depicted stasis and non-progression. During the time of Clinton's visit there was a gradual shift to 'otherness' in the course of demarcating between the 'old' and the 'new' economy of pre and post reforms thereby enabling India to enter into a growth phase through partial and gradual liberalisation of the trade

Madeleine Albright', Maurya Sheraton New Delhi, India, 21 March 2000. Richard Celeste quoted in 'Nuclear worries increasing with fighting in Kashmir', *St. Petersburg Times*, 1 August 1998. 'On-the-Record Briefing Deputy Secretary Talbott on India and Pakistan'.

[27] Burns, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement', 22 March 2006.

[28] Vickery, *The Eagle and the Elephant: Strategic Aspects of US-India Economic Engagement*, p. 24 and p. 38.

sectors.[29] The nuclear issue was central here and it was contended that the economic status of India would improve further, if a 'halt' was placed on the weapons programme.[30] The shift in the position not only displayed a consideration for the developing power on the subcontinent, it also demonstrated the recognition that it was ultimately, India's decision to choose a nuclear path that may or may not be economically conducive to its growth. In this sense, a full-fledged bilateral engagement with the US was made a precursor to 'capping' India's weapons programme. In a similar manner, the Bush administration's narrative initially focused on 'radical otherness' in terms of describing India as a 'quasi-socialist economy', where due to 'high tariff barriers' US investment had been 'lacklustre'.[31] Later, it can be observed, due to a series of interactions through narratives and counter-narratives, the administration employed 'otherness' in addressing India, which was now described as a 'booming economy' and not 'closed anymore' but had to travel a vast distance in terms of becoming an open economy like 'America'.[32] The change in the value judgement of the 'other' was a result of the modification of positions over a period of time. The nuclear issue became central to the economic growth of India, as India's integration into international nuclear security and trade regimes was envisaged to be conducive to the demands of a rapidly developing economy.

[29] 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, Deputy National Economic Advisor Lael Brainard, and Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Rick Inderfurth', The James S. Brady Briefing Room, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 16 March 2000, p. 5.
[30] 'Press Briefing by National Security Advisor Samuel Berger', Radisson SAS Hotel, p. 4.
[31] Rocca, 'The United States and India: Moving Forward in Global Partnership'. Kronstadt, 'India-US Relations', *CRS Issue Brief for Congress*, 25 February 2004, pp. 13-14.
[32] 'India-US Relations: A Vision for the Future', Pacific Council on International Policy, June 2005, http://www.pacificcouncil.org/document.doc?id=43 (Accessed on 23/03/14). Boucher, 'The US-India Friendship: Where We Were and Where We're Going', Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, Remarks at the Confederation of Indian Industries, New Delhi, India, 7 April 2006. Remarks by Ambassador Mulford, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative', American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., 24 April 2006. 'Expanding the United States and India Economic Cooperation', Remarks presented at the 13th Annual Meeting of American Chamber of Commerce, Maurya Sheraton Hotel, Robert O. Blake Jr., Charge d Affaires, United States Embassy India New Delhi, India, 28 April 2005. Ambassador Richard Celeste, Preface in, 'India-US Relations: A Vision for the Future'. Remarks by Ambassador Mulford, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative', American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., 24 April 2006. David C. Mulford, 'Speech to the Third Indo-US Economic Summit', Remarks as prepared for delivery, Le Meridien Hotel, New Delhi, 13 September 2006. 'Remarks at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI)', Richard Boucher, Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, New Delhi, India 7 August 2006. Boucher, 'Remarks at the Indian Chamber of Commerce', Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs, 4 August 2006.

An emphasis on globalisation and democracy was also evident through the narrative of economic progress during both administrations. The demarcation between 'old' and 'new' economy also represented the India 'other' as moving towards liberalisation away from an 'administered' economy.[33] Therefore during Clinton's visit to India, it was proclaimed that engagement of both countries through globalisation was essential as it would ultimately lead to social justice worldwide.[34] It was further proclaimed that America would engage in trade matters without favouring the 'developed' nations over 'developing' countries. This approach gave precedence to 'free enterprise' with its connotation of early entrepreneurial capitalism that easily reconciled with individualism defining America.[35] Contrary to a socialist democracy, a capitalist democracy meant standing for freedom, humanitarian motives, and law and order. The comparison between traits of a capitalist democracy and socialist democracy, enabled the administration to maintain a difference from India through 'otherness', which unlike other developing democracies like, Brazil, South Africa and South Korea was on a path of 'wasteful course', instead of development.[36] The slow pace of reforms was also an issue during the Bush administration. Rather than forwarding direct criticisms of the Indian administered economy, the tropes of development and democracy were constructed as 'linked' wherein 'effective democratic governance was a precondition to healthy economy development'.[37] India in this sense, had ideally achieved the necessary democratic environment that was conducive for the capitalist economy to flourish, necessarily enabling it to procure development and growth as it incorporated deregulation more fully. It can be observed that during the Clinton administration, again 'otherness' was emphasised in terms of self/other relations through a recognition that the other had the potential to transform and be like the

[33] Statement by Ambassador Frank Wisner, The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 14 March 2000.
[34] 'Press Briefing by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright', Maurya Sheraton, New Delhi, 21 March 2000. 'Remarks by the President to the Indian Joint Session of Parliament', 22 March 2000.
[35] Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology*, p. 207 and Arieli, *Individualism and Socialism: The Birth of Two New Concepts*, p. 332, cited in Bellah, *The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*, Chapter Five.
[36] 'Interview of the President by Peter Jennings', *ABC World News*, 22 March 2000.
[37] Burns, 'Hearing on US-India Civil Nuclear Cooperative Initiative', Remarks as Prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington D.C., 2 November 2005.

American self, albeit that the nuclear issue could hamper the potential for development. However, the Bush administration made an explicit link between 'democracy' and 'development', thereby locating India within the narrative of 'otherness' where India was deemed to be on the correct path of development. It can be argued that the modification of the position during the Bush administration was possible due to an over-emphasis on attributes of 'democracy' within an environment where regular justifications were needed in terms of who could and could not own nuclear weapons. During the Clinton administration, this demarcation was largely absent due to a strong preference for non-proliferation.

The narrative of technological assistance in both administrations also displayed similar attempts of creating difference through the identity of political economy. Through 'otherness' both administrations contended that the US had contributed to a very great extent to India's 'green revolution', either through aid monetarily in clean-energy projects in the case of the Clinton administration, or through the substantive transfer of key technologies in the coal and nuclear sectors that could further sustain the needs of a 'burgeoning' economy, as per the argument of the Bush administration.[38] The technological edge that the US had in these sectors could thus be productively utilised to give hope to millions of people 'below the poverty line' in India.[39] The frame of 'otherness' in both instances, reinstated the technological prowess of America that was unmatched by any other nation. India as the 'other' here was simultaneously created as a 'developing' nation in constant need of technological assistance, necessarily lacking the ability to acquire scientific advancement on its own. India as a developing 'other', which needed assistance in the nuclear and environment sector through technological collaboration, therefore, by no means was an equal of the United States. In both cases, the

[38] 'Remarks by President Clinton during a toast with President Narayanan', 21 March 2000, p. 53-54. 'Condoleezza Rice: Interview with Shivraj Prasad of NDTV, 16 March 2005.
[39] Sammon, 'Clinton carries million to India', *The Washington Times*, 20 March 2000. 'Remarks by President Clinton and President Narayanan of India in an exchange of Toasts'. Harrison, 'The US- Indian Strategic Partnership: The Nuclear Deal and Beyond', 11 May 2006.

other's identity was denied on the level of scientific ability to maintain economic momentum without technological assistance.

The various narratives of these two administrations were also constructed around difference evident through identity of gender as examined below.

Degrees of difference in identity of gender

Clinton and George W. Bush administrations differed to a very great extent in terms of signifying difference through gender in various narratives. Terminologies surrounding gender were utilised in the comparative narrative of US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence stability/instability, the democratic freedom, and the narrative of economic progress. Embodied masculinity means national power as manhood wherein body politic is synonymous with 'muscle-flexing' in international aggression, and disembodied masculinity means national power as divorced from the contiguous territorial expansion, instead is understood to be associated with a total and unhampered control of international politics.[40] The disembodied nature of masculinity in terms of masculine qualities of *strength* and superior masculinity in form of *responsible* father were utilised through these narratives.

The narrative of US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence led to differing utilisations of gender in terms of self/other relations in the two administrations. During the Clinton administration 'radical otherness' was evident through the construction of linguistic linkages around the terminologies of responsibility and strength, while during the Bush administration the focus was only on strength within the parameters of 'otherness'. The overt nuclearisation of India in May of 1998 was constructed by the Clinton administration as 'immature' and 'irresponsible'. Pakistan was eventually called upon to set a 'strong example of responsibility'

[40] Kaplan, 'Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s', p. 222.

and avoid being a 'schoolyard rival' to India.[41] Thus while the 'other' was framed as a 'child', American leadership was described as 'unambiguous', 'decisive', and 'clear' whereby the 'self' had the 'special responsibility' to protect the viability of the NPT regime.[42] The self was therefore constructed as a responsible patriarch, an identity that is historically important in terms of ensuring the safety and future of the 'free' nations of the world. The masculine/feminine dichotomy was equally utilised at this juncture since the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan were termed as 'nutty', 'insane' and 'irrational' wherein the 'self' was constructed as 'rational' in terms of forwarding a demand for 'halt, cap and rollback' of the weapons programme.[43] An overall emphasis on non-progression towards the 'self' in terms of decision-making capability was reinforced. The geo-political spatial dimension of the unstable South Asian region was also reemphasised. The narrative of India-Pakistan de-hyphenation during the Bush administration, however, meant an abandonment of radical otherness. The representation of the 'other' with a 'strong' non-proliferation record as opposed to Pakistan's weak non-proliferation record, established likeness in temporal identity of self and other.[44] The 'self's' nuclear role as constructed during Atoms for Peace, demanded sufficient deterrence capability to keep in check the Soviet 'other' who was represented as 'hysterical', 'scornful' and a 'danger' to everlasting peace. America's 'sensible', 'sane' and 'heroic' nature thus justified a continual development of weapons until agreements on disarmaments were

[41] 'President Clinton, Radio Address', Birmingham, 16 May 1998. Clinton quoted in Susan Page, 'US slaps sanctions as India defiantly detonates 2 more tests', *USA Today,* 14 May 1998. Jesse Helms quoted in Daniela Deane, 'Volleys of condemnation bounce off India defiant nation turns inward for support', *USA Today,* 14 May 1998.

[42] 'Secretary's Rose Garden Statement on India-Pakistan', in Clinton Presidential Library Records.

[43] Clinton quoted in Peter Grier, 'Asia Forces New US Game Plan', *Christian Science Monitor*, 18 May 1998. 'The UN deplored Pakistan's testing', *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 31 May 1998. Albright quoted in Bill Nicholas, 'Nuclear powers urge nations 'to think'', *USA Today*, 5 June 1998.

[44] Tellis, 'The Bush Administration in the Indian Subcontinent', pp, 54-55. Statement of Condoleezza Rice, the Secretary of State, 'The US-India Global Partnership', 5 April 2006. 'Raytheon offers sophisticated radar to India', *The Economic Times*, 31 July 2006. 'Secretary Rice Visits India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan', *Foreign Policy Bulletin,* pp. 280-289. Burns, 'US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement', *Foreign Press Center Briefing,* Washington D.C., 22 March 2006. The policy of de-hyphenation was extensively promoted by Ashley Tellis in his article, 'South Asian Seesaw: A New US Policy on the Subcontinent'. Also see, Tellis, 'The Merits of De-hyphenation: Explaining US Success in Engaging India and Pakistan'.

reached.[45] When India and Pakistan were de-hyphenated, the nuclear behaviour and record of the former was termed as 'strong' and as akin to the 'self', and thus not truly a danger to the world stability. As the 'other' was to play a role in stabilising South Asia, the spatial identity of the West as 'stable' and the East as 'unstable' was further perpetuated.

In terms of gender, the democratic lineage of America and its connection to patriarchy was utilised by both administrations when addressing India as the 'other', albeit in markedly different forms of representation. Within the narrative of democracy, the responsibility of nurturing and spreading democracy worldwide is historically situated within the parental discourse of a 'father' looking after the family. The trope 'responsibility', as observed during the Atoms for Peace programme, was utilised to a very great extent where non-proliferation was simultaneously tied to the core of the democratic tradition of attaining 'peace and freedom'.[46] It can be observed that the narrative as engendered by the Clinton administration described the Indian nonchalance for the five benchmarks as a sign of 'irresponsibility'. While India's vibrant democracy was a 'great strength', a 'strong' example of 'responsibility' for the world could only be set by signing the CTBT immediately without conditions.[47] The frame of 'radical otherness', enabled the Clinton administration to continue with the historically important quality of 'responsibility' that allowed the United States to take important decisions as far as the betterment of 'family' of nations was concerned. The 'family' of nations comprised

[45] 'Democratic Party Platform of 1956', 13 August 1956. 'Republican Party Platform of 1956', 20 August 1956. Eisenhower, 'Address in Madison Square Garden, New York City', 25 October 1956. Eisenhower, 'Remarks at the Opening of the NATO Meetings in Paris', 16 December 1957. Eisenhower, 'Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the International Press Institute', 17 April 1958. 'Republican Party Platform of 1960', 25 July 1960. Eisenhower, 'Statement by the President following the Soviet Union's Attack on the Disarmament Proposals', 28 August 1957.

[46] 'Republican Party Platform of 1960', 25 July 1960. Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 12 January 1961. 'Address by President Dwight Eisenhower to the UN General Assembly', 20 June 1955. See the section, 'The Discharge of our World Responsibility' in Eisenhower, 'Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union', 5 January 1956.

[47] 'President William Jefferson Clinton Radio Address', Birmingham, England, Box 36 and 39. Also see statement by US Ambassador to India Richard Frank Celeste, 'Indian News Agency Reports US Envoy's Lack of Trust on Nuclear Weapon Use', *BBC Monitoring South Asia,* 1 August 1998.

nations who stood for free markets, globalisation and political freedom.[48] It can be argued that the inextricable link between 'responsibility' and the signing of CTBT was greatly emphasised as it was directly related to the main narrative of arms control, which focused on the ratification of CTBT within the US House of Representatives. Despite the efforts of the Clinton administration, partisan politics meant the Senate failed to ratify CTBT in 1999 anyway, thus taking the pressure off India. With an emphasis on 'preventive war' and the retention of nuclear weapons as a viable means of maintaining US security[49], the narrative of democracy during the Bush administration, established a 'bond' between the United States and India that made them 'united by deeply held values'.[50] As a democratic country, it was proclaimed India 'will stand beside us [America] and the world community in assisting those who choose freedom'.[51] India, in this sense, was fast becoming a main part of the family of democracies for which the US bore responsibility. Since India was already 'sensible' due to the belief that democracies can never be irrational, the US would act as a 'supporter' of 'democracy' as it 'assumed responsibilities'.[52] 'Otherness' in the Bush administration's narrative was thus equated with the paternal duty of administering the growth of an adolescent in a productive direction. The identity of American 'fatherhood', in this instance worked as a form of 'superior masculinity'.[53]

[48] Anthony Lake, The national security advisor introduced this notion, as a part of the policy of 'engagement and enlargement'. See, John Dumbrell, *Clinton's Foreign Policy: Between the Bushes, 1992-2000* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 43.
[49] Bryan C. Taylor and William J. Kinsella, 'Introduction: Linking Nuclear Legacies and Communication Studies', in Bryan C. Taylor, William J. Kinsella, Stephen P. Depoe, and Maribeth S. Metzler eds., *Nuclear Legacies: Communication, Controversy, and the US Nuclear Weapons Complex* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), pp. 1-37, see p. 13. Also see, Jack Snyder, 'Imperial Temptations', *The National Interest*, Spring 2003, vol. 71, pp. 29-40.
[50] Senator Biden, 8 December 2006: S11823, and Comments by George Bush as cited in Jarrod Hayes, 'Identity and Securitization in the Democratic Peace: The United States and the Divergence of Response to India and Iran's Nuclear Programs', pp. 988-989.
[51] Boucher, 'The US-India Friendship: Where We Were and Where We're Going', http://www.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/64230.htm>, cited in Hayes, p. 988.
[52] Richardson, 'Now, Play the India Card', October 2002. Blake, 'Expanding the United States and India Economic Cooperation', 13th Annual Meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce, Maurya Sheraton Hotel, New Delhi, India, 28 April 2005. Mulford cited in Devin T. Hagerty, 'Are we present at the creation? Alliance theory and the Indo-US strategic convergence', p. 24. Interview with David Mulford, 7 January 2005. Statement by Burns, 'US-India Nuclear Energy Cooperation: Security and Nonproliferation Implications'.
[53] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p. 79.

The dichotomy of self/other relations differed during both administrations through the narrative of economy on to a path of reforms as the Clinton administration focused on the masculine/feminine and the Bush administration again factored in the parent/child dynamics. The US penalties in the form of sanctions on India-Pakistan were termed as 'stiff', 'strong', 'powerful' and 'firm' in nature that could cause a considerable strain on developing economies of India and Pakistan, already struggling and weak in nature.[54] Thus as a 'dominant economy' the sanctions enabled the US to retain its 'leadership role' in world affairs.[55] The signifier 'strength' thus enabled the Clinton administration to locate the 'other' within the temporal dimension of a developing, struggling economy mired in poverty that would significantly suffer further setbacks in the event the weapons programme continued. The frame of 'radical otherness' was thus utilised in this instance through the identity of gender. For the Bush administration, 'otherness' entailed that India's economy was entering the phase of gradual liberalisation and would experience a 'demographic dividend' that has driven economic growth. Thus in temporal terms India as 'developing' economy needed to be 'groomed' so that valuable economic and strategic partnership could take root. This was because India as a country was experiencing major economic, class and ethnic divisions. This was not something unpredictable as the 'South Asian region' suffered from an overall lack of economic dynamism.[56] Thus the patriarchal responsibility of guiding a developing democracy in the right direction was again utilised. In temporal terms progression towards the 'self' was ascertained, but in spatial terms the West was still constructed as economically affluent and stable whereas the 'other' belonged to unstable and economically weak South Asian region which was a part of the larger East.

[54] Rubin, Daily Press Briefing, US Department of State, 13 May 1998.
[55] 'Draft Remarks for Under Secretary Pickering at Meridian House', 14 October 1997, National Security Council, Clinton Presidential Records, National Security Council.
[56] Ronald F. Lehman II, Prepared Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 2 November 2005, 'US-India Nuclear Energy Cooperation: Security and Nonproliferation Implications'.

Thus ‘radical otherness’ and ‘otherness’ in gender formed an essential component of self/other relations through which difference was maintained in the narratives of respective administrations.

Conclusion

Subjective identity, as in the case of the identity of a nation in this context can be understood as the construction of the meaning of ‘what nation is’ through its different self-representations into one coherent image.[57] These self-representations acquire value only when they are presented as in opposition to other representations. In the US-India duality of identity relations, the identification with ‘other’ varied from a complete denial to partial identification. The identity of the ‘other’, on the whole, rested solely on the determining factor of how far the ‘other’ was ready to adopt changes, enabling the ‘other’ to reach the potential of the ‘self’. The implication of this denial and partial identification with the ‘other’ at various points, worked towards the discovery of the ‘self’ that was reproduced with each narrative encounter. Narrative emplotment through state-based Foreign Policy was instructive in this regard, as it reconstructed the identity of ‘America’ as an exemplary nuclear nation with extraordinary qualities of spreading peace and justice, democracy, scientific advancement and economic progress. The US as a nuclear state, therefore virtually posed no ‘threat’ to any other nation.

Amidst the policy of distancing and rapprochement, it can be observed that despite the politics of ‘radical otherness’ and ‘otherness’, there remained a constant divide between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. A narrative account perpetuates a never-ending phenomenon of a constitution of identity, whose reference point for self-definition is located only in the future. Therefore, though narrative accounts perform the function of representing the ‘nation’ as a unit, of granting it coherence, the narrative accounts are always unfinished stories for an identity of a

[57] Christina Pena-Marin, ‘Subjectivity and Temporality in Narrative’, in Silvia Lopez, Jenaro Talen, and Dario Villanueva eds., *Critical Practices in Post-Franco Spain*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 129-142.

state whose 'closure' can be imagined and desired, but not realised 'yet'.[58] For both administrations, US 'identity' meant ascribing to the future as a projection of the present desire was rooted deeply into the past. The difference in the relationship to the 'other' can be attributed to the construction of identity that takes place not in a linear process of time, but is achieved through constant displacement of elements of itself that the subject of the discourse recognises in the narrations. Narratives are constructed in different moments by the subject ascribing to what the subject plans to become in each case.[59] The attempts by the Clinton and Bush administrations to maintain difference from India, were a result of those projections of American identity as influenced by the past, the critical moments, the vision and the confirmation of self-identification. As a result, the great power narratives representing the India 'other' as a peaceful 'civilisation', 'India and Pakistan regional rivalry', 'democracy', 'technological power' and 'developing' country, were linked to different temporal and spatial identities of race, political economy and gender wherein the qualities of India were contested in the context of its nuclear conduct.

A postcolonial viewpoint, offers a useful perspective to gauge how inequalities in the relationship of self versus other enabled both the administrations to adopt their respective nuclear policies. Albeit, the difference lay only in terms of the framings of 'radical other' and 'other' whereby the capacity of the 'other' to transform and become like the 'self' was debated. For the Clinton administration, this meant India giving up the nuclear option, while for the Bush administration it meant de-facto legalisation of India's civil (and weapons) nuclear programme that would ensure integration and stability into the global nuclear order. Ultimately, this led to a reproduction of superior US identity through the contestation of whether the other was temporally progressing towards the self or not. 'Assimilation' of the other into the global nuclear order remained a final goal as it was integrally connected to the projection of the

[58] *Ibid*.
[59] *Ibid*.

American self-image as an arbiter of that order designed to promote and enact non-proliferation. The US nuclear subjectivity as established through the inception of Atoms for Peace thus continued formally through Clinton and Bush administrations' state-based Foreign Policy.

Conclusion

Research aims and objectives

The central question(s) that this thesis posed was:

To what extent George W. Bush administration's nuclear foreign policy marked a change from Bill Clinton administration's nuclear foreign policy towards India?

Sub-questions:

How state identity and foreign policy are interlinked?

What is the process that determines why certain narratives prevail over others?

What are great power narratives?

How central tropes around which representations of difference are articulated could be understood from an imperial angle?

How state identity through degrees of difference can be conceptualised?

In answering this question(s) it was argued that the Nuclear Foreign Policy of the United States is not an external ramification of a pre-established entity called as 'America'. It is rather a result of the ongoing social construction through which the subjectivity of 'America' is constantly being re-negotiated. The social construction of identity entails the constitution of state identity across time and space. Identity thus provides a frame of possible actions while also allowing the subjects to experience a sense of direction and purpose. Narrative power ensures a hegemonic cohesiveness of certain interpretations of 'we-ness' amongst many different storylines that are circulating within a discursive economy. A particular actor or group of actors attain a significant authority to construct a collectivity addressed as 'we', which becomes the foundation of 'our' policy. This 'we' has crucial political consequence for who is addressed and who can gain voice and presence. A state identity therefore is always politicised in this context. A great power identity as effectuated through great power narratives is thus integral to

the operative mode of a country like United States, where in order to attain a 'sense of self', the actors stitch discontinuous events of the past, present and future through emplotment that enables them to locate a collectivity like a state, as an independent entity in *time* and *space*. The discerning quality of a great power narrative is great power identity, which is always tied to the projection of 'self' as inhabiting a certain form of international order. The other(s) are evaluated through this prism in self-other encounters, through which international relations and bilateral relations get constituted. So it was argued in this thesis that encounters between great power and rising power should be evaluated from a postcolonial context wherein imperialism functions as an organising principle of great power narratives. Great power narratives are therefore built upon relations of identity/difference that regularly draw upon inequalities in 'race', 'political economy', and 'gender'. This thesis demonstrated that the variation in the Bill Clinton and the George W. Bush administrations' nuclear foreign policies towards India was due to the value judgement of the 'other' in terms of whether the 'other' was progressing towards the 'self-ideal' or not.

This understanding of foreign policy differs from the traditional forms of FPA that take into account rationalist-materialist explanations. Rationalist-materialist accounts consider interest and identities as distinct analytical categories. Moreover, identities are considered to be exogenously given through the structure of the international system or the distribution of power within it. Thus the demarcation in terms of inside/outside and anarchy/state are deemed as unquestionable universal categories. As per this understanding the state merely responds to the reality 'out there' since it strives to maintain its position through optimisation of relative or absolute gains. According to the narrative constitution of the state identity the reality 'out there' is not constant or atypical presence of anarchy and chaos. In fact, representations of a particular reality are highly politicised and are very much integral in maintaining state boundaries which provide the coherent identification in terms of 'who we are', 'what we want', and 'what kind of system we inhabit'. A realist interpretation thus becomes a dominant discursive framework

through which actors on behalf of a national collectivity aim to achieve a universal identification of the 'self' that naturally relies on difference from other(s). In terms of establishing American nuclear identity such interpretations of the world of chaos 'out there' played a pivotal role in creation of an unthreatening nuclear America that could provide some form of semblance through the Atoms of Peace programme. The 'peaceful', 'democratic', 'freedom' loving America was only made possible when it stood in contrast to 'totalitarian', 'aggressive', 'imperial', 'violent' and 'communist' Soviet Union.[60]

This thesis also sought to challenge the cognitive approaches to FPA. The cognitive approaches have attempted to map out the belief structures of decision makers. Hence identity, ideas, beliefs and values are factored in as important variables in foreign policy analysis.[61] However, the prime aim of the cognitive approach is to predict decision makers' responses, and therefore, identity becomes one of the explanatory variable in terms of identifying the 'anomaly' in expected behaviour. A natural consequence of such ontological stance is that identity and interests are seen as separate causal variables. Identity, interests and beliefs are seen as influencing decision-makers obscuring the world 'out there' and from identifying their 'real' interests. As Chris Browning notes, identities, therefore comes to be seen as something to be eradicated in the foreign policy process as they are assumed to result in *mis*perception of reality.[62] Cognitivist arguments have been significant in US nuclear foreign policy. However, this significance has not only reflected a certain methodological stance but has been integral to certain political positions. For instance, the reappraisal of US nuclear foreign policy towards India during the George W. Bush administration and the subsequent emergence of the US-India civil nuclear deal was rooted in cognitivist reading of US nuclear role after the emergence of the NPT, in the immediate post-Cold War world, and into the post 9/11 international

[60] See Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis: A Case Study of Finland*, pp. 272-273.
[61] Michael J. Shapiro and G. Matthew Bonham, 'Cognitive Process and Foreign Policy Decision-Making', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1973, pp. 147-174.
[62] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 272.

environment. The cognitive reading contended America's experience as tied to the global nuclear order was misplaced in terms of misreading of India as an irresponsible state with nuclear weapons which was premised on the radical othering of the South Asian regional power. It was argued that the American identity as constructed against nuclear India was preventing America from perceiving its real interests. The US-India bilateral relations actually needed to be conciliatory and forward-looking due to their common democratic origins and global partnership that they could build for world stability in the present and well into the future. Rather than removing identity from the reappraisal, the attempt was to reconstruct American identity in contradiction to the post NPT practices of criticising India's nuclear stand. Only through the re-articulation of 'Americanness' in the post 2000-2001 it was possible to initiate new nuclear policy vis-à-vis India. As Chris Browning further notes, understanding cognitivist approaches is hence important because discourses of (mis)perception can be utilised politically to promote particular notion of identity and the interests that flow from them. Nevertheless, such approaches stand as discursive acts of framing and (re)constructing social reality in their own terms.[63]

By combining critical constructivist and postcolonial theoretical principles, this thesis has sought to bridge the divide between two different schools of thoughts in IR. Though critical constructivists' understandings have been extensively employed in understanding US and European identity and state formation, the intersubjective nature of identity formation through great power narratives and counter-narratives in the context of US-India nuclear bilateral relations is virtually absent. On the other hand, a plethora of postcolonial studies have been undertaken in relation to India but excessive concentration on the historical wrongs done or emphasis on limited space available to construct alternative understandings of the postcolonial 'self' from sites of oppression blurs the process of how boundary forming discursive practices are equally integral to the Indian state formation. Critical constructivism thus guides attention

[63] Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 273.

towards intersubjective identity formation which lends significance to the postcolonial understanding of inequalities that are absolutely essential in terms of how narrators locate US and India when making sense of 'events' and 'facts' in time and space. Thus the thesis transcends the level-of-analysis problem, as indicated in Chapter One, which compartmentalises theoretical explanations at a particular level that in turn lead to strictures in accounting for the change in US nuclear policies vis-à-vis India from Bill Clinton to George W. Bush administrations.

Narrative identity and co-constitution of foreign policy – Research contribution and main arguments

Based on the premise of ontological ambiguity, Campbell's re-theorisation of foreign policy understands foreign policy to be one in a range of practices that make up discourses of danger serving to domesticate the 'state'. Foreign policy is part of a multifaceted process of inscription that disciplines by framing state in the spatial and temporal organisations of inside and outside, self and other. The principle impetus behind the externalisation of threats in a realm beyond the sovereign domain, for all its identification with well-ordered and rational entity, is as much a site of ambiguity and indeterminacy as the anarchic realm it is distinguished from. Consequently foreign policy shifts from a concern between states that are conceived to be ahistorical with pre-given boundaries, to a concern of the establishment of the boundaries that constitute the 'state' and the 'international system'. The 'state' and the 'international system' or 'order' are thereby not mutually exclusive but are dependent on each other for co-production through time and space.[64] Thus Chapter Two argued that the great power narratives are crucial to understanding how a dominant power like United States operates in global nuclear politics, as the actors constantly try to represent *a* particular type of reality 'out there' so that *a* particular 'sense of self' can be retained. It was argued that in reconstituting the identity of 'America'

[64] Campbell, *Writing Security*, pp. 61-62.

this projection of self needs to be understood as explicitly tied to a particular interpretation of international order. The other(s) are evaluated through this interpretation of global order through which the self attains legitimacy. I further contended that the relational identity does not simply rely on one form of otherness. An imperial dimension to great power narratives affords an understanding of multiplicity of otherness that could be conceptualised as ranging from *radical otherness* to *otherness*, which are tied to an assessment of whether the other is progressing towards the self or not. The identity/difference thus can be analysed through *spatial* and *temporal* themes. For instance, in the narrative of civilisational proclivity for peace during George W. Bush administration, India was constructed as an 'Asian' power of importance that historically aimed at defending itself from 'terror' and 'lawless violence'. The 'other' thus did not share the radical difference in form of threatening power that historically have taken shape in form of Communism, Soviet Union, Iraq, Iran, Islamic terrorism, etc. Chapters One and Two established a clear connection between state identity and Foreign Policy. Foreign Policy has to be considered as a boundary producing practice manifesting great power narratives that create and sustain a great power self. A great power self is achieved only through relations of inequalities with other(s). Identity/difference in self-other relations is therefore integral in order to analyse the change in the US nuclear policy from Clinton to Bush administrations towards India.

In order to demonstrate the narratives that actors of the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations utilised to emplot the self in relational identity vis-à-vis India as the other are historically contingent, the thesis went back in time to analyse how American nuclear identity as an unthreatening global leader in nuclear technology was first established. Therefore, nuclear subjectivity as crafted through Atoms for Peace from 1951 to 1960 was analysed. The master-narratives that were identified in Chapter Three were, establishing 'peace' in an atomic age, a 'democratic' country standing for 'freedom', advancing 'science' of the atom for 'world betterment', and ensuring 'economic progress' of the world. These narratives articulated

different constructions of American nuclear identity that predominantly stood in radical difference from the Soviet Union. As a stabilising Western power, 'America' was projected as 'peace-loving', 'decent', 'right', 'just', 'heroic', 'sane', 'responsible', 'God-given force', believer in 'individual liberty', 'patient', 'mature', devoted to 'construction' and not 'destruction', holding a 'responsible' scientific judgement, an expert in the 'new' science, and a 'developed' economy aiming to replicate economic success in the 'free world'. The narratives provide a space for negotiating we-ness that co-constituted policy decisions. Chapter Three consequently showed that the four narratives articulated a policy space wherein American decisions were based on the evaluation of American interests in retaining nuclear weapons and the primacy of the Western hemisphere while forwarding a moral cause that could ensure an international order that contained the spread of nuclear weapons.

Chapter Three also demonstrated that there is not just one story to tell. A major thrust of this thesis has also been to illustrate that narrative identity does not exist in a vacuum. It is ontologically and epistemologically impossible to assume that in the framings of 'self' and 'other' through emplotment, only one-sided representations are possible. The analytical assumption which contends that there is not just one story to tell, leads to an understanding of identity being fluid and non-stable phenomenon that is inherently 'political' by nature. Through this it is possible to conceptualise that identity is intersubjective by nature, as maintaining *a* great power identity requires constant negotiation with counter-narratives within a discursive economy. Counter-narratives are thus the alternative versions of constructing the 'self', as well as narratives of the 'other(s)' who themselves are entrenched in the process of maintaining *a* particular identity as distinct and in opposition to the great power. Various counter-narratives depicted a struggle within the discursive economy to disarticulate America from the official description as mentioned above and re-articulate different racialised and gendered understandings of America wherein 'America' was linked to adjectives like 'savage', 'brute', 'imperial', 'insane', 'un-democratic', and devoid of 'sanity and reason' in scientific judgement.

The counter-narratives aimed at dissolving the West/East dichotomy and the dominant connotations that defined American nuclear weapons and technology as peaceful and clean by nature. Nevertheless, attempts to narrate alternative scenarios of global destruction were subdued through hegemonic narrative power.

Taking the historical view of Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations' narratives especially in relation to India, Chapter Four explored the continuation of great power narratives in Foreign Policy texts as they were again employed to negotiate self/other relations, and more importantly make 'sense of self' especially in postcolonial encounters with nuclear India. It could be observed the main narratives were modified in a way that demanded very different policy options. For instance, the initial nuclear cooperation between US and India in the period of 1947-1964 was premised on the basis of value judgement of the 'other' as 'scientifically handicapped' and the scientists as constrained by 'Hindu philosophy'. The narrative of scientific progress thus delimited American assistance to India in the nuclear realm, as the 'other' was still far from full-fledged scientific establishment and was least likely to divert resources to military uses due to fragile economy. Thus US-India bilateral nuclear cooperation through Colombo Plan for CIRUS in July 1960 and US-India cooperation during the first reprocessing plant commissioned in Trombay in 1964 came to be justified in this context. From the period of 1965 to 1980 the narrative of scientific progress was explicitly utilised in the context of locating India as the 'other' in the realm of 'technical backwardness'. Also geo-spatial demarcations through the narrative of economic progress were employed in terms of North as 'developed' and South as 'underdeveloped' to bring into focus the 'economic downturn' and adverse effects on 'economic aid' that could cause setbacks in the Indian economy. The weaponisation programme of India in this context was predicated to be a futile decision. Only integration into the NPT was a solution that India could afford. This construction enabled the US administrations to continue with a basic identity as established during Atom for Peace that linked American identity with a global nuclear order promoting

non-proliferation. New developments or shocks can reconfigure the 'self' through restructuring of narrative. Because narratives are the only basis on which some sort of semblance can be achieved in terms of how to respond to a particular crisis in terms of 'what we are' and 'what we want'. This was evident from the period of 1981-1992 as comparisons between US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence wherein geographical descriptions of the 'troubled area' of South Asia and 'unstable' nuclear powers that were technologically and economically 'too weak' to support a nuclear weapons programme were introduced. Indian compliance with non-proliferation and safeguards was considered as 'pragmatic' and 'rational'. US 'responsibility' in masculine terms to uphold the NPT-led global nuclear order came to be justified in this context.

In Chapter Four, the alternative framings of the American 'self' was evident in terms of constructing US as a 'reliable' supplier which entailed continuation of the Tarapur Agreement instead of its abrogation. Also, alternative versions of Western 'self' as opposed to Eastern 'other' could be traced through the narratives of Canadian observers who constructed Indian scientists as 'technically proficient' instead of being technically backward as the official dictum of the US administrations tended to concentrate on. However, counter-narratives of the Indian actors attempted to link Western standards of democracy with 'double standards', the process of weapons acquisition as 'destructive', a division of the world into 'haves' and 'have nots' through institutions like IAEA and NPT, wherein the NPT was famously termed as 'nuclear apartheid', or as 'white people' having low opinion of India and its technical and nuclear capabilities. Rather than America being a responsible power bent on ensuring peaceful world with equality, the counter-narratives of Indian actors portrayed India as a 'postcolonial' and America as a predominantly 'colonial' power whose characteristics of attaining supremacy reflected in global nuclear policies that perpetuated inequalities. Identity as an inherently political process entails power to retain a form of coherence of the self in presence of counter-narratives. The effects of intersubjective dimension to identity was again evident in great power

narratives as the India 'other' was linked to adjectives such as 'passive', 'servile', 'hypersensitiveness', 'close-minded', 'emotional' and 'weak', whereas self was still responsible, stable, rational and powerful. The inversion of counter-narratives through masculine/feminine dichotomy was evident through narratives of effeminate East, inability to exercise restraint, and unstable India-Pakistan rivalry.

Chapter Five, examined the continuation of basic subject-positions through Foreign Policy of the Bill Clinton administration as great power narratives were further perpetuated. Since the self is performed only through relations with other(s), these narratives provided an avenue to the Clinton administration to perform the American identity as inextricably connected to the global nuclear order. The questions of multiplicity of others was brought to the fore as the narratives of debating Hindu radicalism, the US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan nuclear deterrence, democratic principles that define America, a struggling economy on to the path of reforms, and a second-tier state's quest to demonstrate technological prowess, constituted American role in upholding non-proliferation through policies of 'sanctions', 'five benchmarks' and 'Clinton's visit to the subcontinent in March 2000'. The emplotting of US 'self' vis-à-vis India as the 'other' was not a straightforward process but involved several reappraisals of self versus the other in the intersubjective environment. For instance, the Christian 'self' as opposed to 'fundamental' and 'radical' brand of BJP Hinduism, allowed the Clinton administration to continue with basic thrust of the narrative as established during Atoms for Peace which significantly concentrated on American 'stewardship' to guide the world for God was on the side of America. When the 'self's' Judeo-Christian penchant for peace was challenged as the counter-narratives sought to delink America from 'nuclear chastity' while linking India with 'rationality', 'peace' and 'truth', the official narrative sought to link US with Gandhian-Nehruvian principles of 'non-violence' reworking US identity as a postcolonial nation. The 'radical otherness' from militant Hinduism was maintained, albeit only 'otherness' with secular-pluralist India as ruled by Congress was effectuated. A similar

tension in dualisms was observed in the narrative of democracy. As the democratic nature of the India as the 'other' could not be denied, the democratic principles as evident in the duties of democracy in the context of nuclear behaviour provided the Clinton administration an avenue to continue with radical difference from the 'other'. If democratic 'greatness' meant perpetuating global stability, taking 'right' and 'progressive' decisions, then India was indeed sending a 'bad signal' as a democracy. The narrative of struggling economy on to a path of reforms similarly maintained radical difference from the India as the 'other'. As an 'aid dependent' and a 'struggling' economy India was constructed as an 'underdeveloped' country that could face significant repercussions in presence of 'stiff', 'powerful' and 'firm' US penalties. The shift to the construction of 'other' as traversing from 'old' to 'new' economy enabled the administration to still continue with 'otherness' in temporal terms. The representation of the 'other' in terms of having the potential to become like 'self' enabled the Clinton administration to undertake a cordial visit yet retain a marked difference in terms of full economic potential which could only be realised if and when weapons option is forgone. The description of India 'other' as predominantly a 'second-tier' state retained the otherness through the narrative of scientific assistance. However, the comparative narrative of US-Soviet Union and India-Pakistan deterrence retained radical otherness for India-Pakistan nuclear rivalry was dubbed as highly 'unstable' and 'catastrophic' demonstrating 'irrational', 'insane', 'nutty' and 'crazy' attitude of the rival neighbours. The Clinton administration officials were thus able to create a discursive space through emplotment of the US self, so that certain statements became important and worthy of institutional support. 'Facts', 'events' and 'material factors' did not themselves produce policies, they only attained significance within supporting narrative configurations. By linking *civilisational peace*, *deterrence stability/instability*, *democratic duties*, *economic progress* and *scientific assistance* with non-proliferation, the Clinton administration re-established the great power identity of America as an arbiter of the global nuclear order.

Chapter Six set out to evaluate how the Foreign Policy texts enabled a continuation of main scripts of the great power narratives leading to the constitution of the American 'self' versus India as the 'other' entailing a significant turnaround in the nuclear policies that could be largely configured as, 'next steps in strategic partnership', 'the framework US-India civil nuclear deal', and 'the 123 agreement' that sealed the civil nuclear cooperation between US and India, simultaneously giving India an international right to trade in civil nuclear technology and material. Yet again, the conceptualisation of multiplicity of others was important as the Bush administration officials sought to re-inscribe American identity through great power narratives. The narrative of civilisations' inclination for peace established common links between America as a predominantly Christian nation and India as a predominantly Hindu nation. Both were inclined towards 'good' as opposed to 'evil' wherein India as an 'old' civilisation could play a fruitful role in cooperating with US - a 'new' civilisation in bringing about stability in Asia. The narrative of India-Pakistan de-hyphenation drastically altered the narrative of India-Pakistan deterrence instability as India and Pakistan were 'de-hyphenated'. This constructed India as a 'democracy' with 'global reach' and hence akin to the self thereby having characteristics which were requisite for mutual cooperation and could ensure stability in the East. The narrative of democracy in a similar manner constructed the 'other' as 'open', 'free', 'transparent', 'friendly', 'stable', 'vibrant democracy', 'victim of terrorism' transpiring into otherness in temporal terms as the 'other' was significantly progressing towards the 'self-ideal'. Hence, India was to be 'assisted' and 'guided' as it 'assumed global responsibilities'. Moreover the construction of India as different from 'rogues', 'closed', 'non-democratic' and 'autocratic' states like Iran and North Korea recreated radical difference between America and 'rogues' because ultimately India as a democratic country was postulated to be akin to the 'self'. This led to legitimisation of the framework agreement and the deal because India a 'responsible steward' had to be integrated into the parameters of the NPT for the stabilisation of global non-proliferation regime. Assisting India technologically continued with Atoms for

Peace discourse since the United States was defined as a 'world leader' in renewable technology. Though India was constructed as an 'advanced' state with 'sophisticated' military and nuclear technology and 'gifted scientists', US still retained necessary expertise in green and civil nuclear technologies from which India could 'benefit' in terms of securing its energy future and the world environment. The narrative of economic progress depicted tensions in dualisms of self versus other as both radical otherness and otherness were utilised. The underdeveloped nature of the 'other' received significant attention in the initial years due to utilisation of terms like 'quasi-socialist economy', 'most closed' and 'mostly unfree' in representing India. It led to a justification of the outlook that India needed to let go of protectionism so that deeper economic engagement between US and India could be achieved. The narrative concurrently framed US as one of the 'most open' economies favouring absolute liberal principles of economic management. The counter-narrative sought to de-link the 'West', and by this implication America, from 'development' of the LDCs as alternative representation of Western ambitions to keep India locked in the 'developing' mode were presented. Moreover, the 'self-reliant' mode of Indian economy was constructed as a viable alternative which had enabled the country to attain robust technical and industrial base. Therefore, Western form of capitalism was again linked to 'colonialism'. The emplotment of US self was then re-negotiated in terms of 'otherness' for the other's potential as a 'booming' and 'emerging' economy was identified yet the necessity to privatise was emphasised. Reforms were constructed as essential to drive economic growth and become the basis of India's economic miracle. The linking of *civilisational peace, bringing democratic India from periphery to the centre of the NPT, India-Pakistan de-hyphenation, encouraging economic reforms* and *assistance in technology* with non-proliferation and to a greater extent with anti-proliferation, enabled the Bush administration to re-establish US identity as an arbiter of the global nuclear order wherein obstructing the diffusion of weapons technology was constructed to be of immediate importance.

The complexity of how 'radical otherness' and 'otherness' constituted inequalities through relations of identity/difference in race, political economy and gender formed the content of Chapter Seven. It demonstrated that Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations' nuclear foreign policy vis-à-vis India was not a result of simplistic emplotment of self versus other. In fact the spectrum of identity/difference ranges from utilisation of temporal and spatial themes through identities of race, political economy and gender, which allows the interpretation of 'self' and 'other' to be open-ended and not closed. Since the value judgement of the 'other' is based on whether the 'other is progressing towards the 'self-ideal' or not, it can lead to variations in nuclear foreign policy approaches vis-à-vis India. Temporal and spatial themes can be visible through racial, political economy and gender categories as tropes like forward/backward, developed/developing, new/old, progressive/regressive, democratic/undemocratic, advanced/backward, rational/irrational, responsible/irresponsible, West/East, North/South were utilised in the context of whether the other had the capability to *transform* and attain the potential of the self or was destined to remain in form of stasis. Since meanings are always historically contextualised, it leads to an appreciation of how certain concepts emerge within the discursive spaces and how they came to restrict the manner in which various issues could be conceptualised and dealt with. In creating boundary and identity for the 'US' as inextricably tied to the 'global nuclear order', postcolonial understandings of imperialism provided a useful analytical prism through which variations in US nuclear policy vis-à-vis India during each administration could be gauged.

The link between state identity formation and foreign policy/Foreign Policy thus leads to an understanding that identity is always negotiated in a historically contextualised framework. Discourses and identity co-produce each other as the 'self' remains open to negotiation and re-negotiations in the contexts of narrative power.

Potential criticisms and limitations of the research and how these could be addressed

Since identities are always historically contextualised and narrators operate in constraining

discursive framework, the question then arises as to why analytically identities cannot be comprehended as 'essentialised'. The continuation of great power US identity as a peaceful, democratic, economically developed and technologically advanced from Atoms for Peace to the Bill Clinton and the George W. administrations precisely points towards this conundrum. However, narrative identity and action at its core conceptualises that discontinuous events have to be made sense of. If a state has to survive as a unit, its past, present and future has to make sense through temporal meanings that display a connection. Hence, the state leaders and especially the Presidents are able to look back at the collective origins and project forward the tasks ahead for the state, which in turn secures a continual identity for the state. Through the narrative of history, the identity in form of continuation is *experienced* as essentialised so a feeling of we-ness can prevail which is integral to the very design of frontiers beyond which everything is chaos or the realm of danger.[65]

Secondly, if meanings are always historically contextualised then how transformations in state identity can occur which might lead to a completely different reorganisation of global political reality. This has occurred as shown in the case of US nuclear policy towards India from 2001 to 2009 where the 'other' ultimately was proclaimed as non-threatening as far a nuclear matters were concerned. The question remains then how the Bush administration officials operating under constraints of historical framework were able to achieve this. As noted in Chapter Two, despite operating under historical constraints, the narrative framework focuses on intertextuality which builds in *creative agency* as a medium of operation. Discursive fields are characterised with 'surplus of meanings' that can never be fully exhausted by any specific discourse.[66] The ultimate contingency of texts and meanings precludes any possibility of them from being actualised.[67] The actors therefore are able to transgress or rearticulate existing textual conventions into new narrative forms. Nonetheless, innovation operates only within

[65] See for instance, Browning, *Constructivism, Narrative and Foreign Policy Analysis*, p. 276.
[66] Howarth, *Discourse*, p. 103.
[67] *Ibid*.

symbolic and socially constrained lexicons of intertextuality. As a result, though India as the 'other' traversed from being 'threatening' to 'non-threatening', the emplotment of the US 'self' as non-threatening global power remained consistent through 1953 to 2009.

Thirdly, this thesis does not explicitly concentrate on grass-roots movements in terms of how alternative images of global political and nuclear realities were being negotiated in a bilateral setting between US and India. This is because grass-roots movements are more amenable to studying the formation of state identity and how notions are being contested from bottom-up which portray alternative visions of the 'state'. This aspect was given due consideration in the establishment of American nuclear subjectivity through Atoms for Peace as alternative images of 'nuclear America' were constructed through anti-nuclear movements. However, within a bilateral setting, the constructions of US and India through narratives and counter-narratives focused on the higher echelons of policy-making circles for actors attempted to makes sense of 'US' and 'India' through public political discourse. Thus public political discourse, especially during the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations was given importance, as it necessitated an audience in form of domestic/foreign citizens on whose behalf representations of the state and reality were promulgated. In this sense, credibility and legitimacy of state identity and nuclear policies can be sustained only through public political discourse because stories achieve coherence only in broader social and cultural contexts.

Contributions to the literature

The relevant contributions to the literature of critical studies in IR/IS are evaluated below.

Narratives, foreign policies and global orders

This thesis has made a distinctive contribution in understanding US nuclear subjectivity as tied to global nuclear order. Narratives that rest on relations of identity/difference are integral to the US state formation and this theoretical structure could be effectively utilised to understand variations or continuation in US nuclear policies vis-à-vis myriad countries. The focus on narratives directs attention towards how the actors are able to socialise others to accept a

particular version of identity and reality which entails certain expectations and behaviours from 'other' states that are distinctively termed as great powers, rising powers or even rogues and pariahs. These narratives of great power 'self' are therefore central to engendering cooperation, conflict, collaboration as well as war.[68] The 'self' as tied to the narrative of an initial situation or order, disruption of that order, and re-establishment of the order are crucial to performance of the US state or the constitution of state-effect of which foreign policy/Foreign Policy becomes an important constitutive process.

Continuing relevance of theory as practice in IR

The ontological assumptions of theory *as* practice repudiates the notion that somehow we can detach ourselves (as subjects) from the process by which we give real meaning to an objectified world 'out there'. Thus language attains ontological significance as it is only through acts of articulating or framing a particular reality that factual world or reality 'out there' attains political significance. As Derek Phillips observes, 'there is no standard of objective reality (always fixed, never changing) against which to compare or measure a universe of discourse…nothing exists outside of our language and actions which can be used to justify, for example, a statement's truth or falsity'.[69] From this perspective there is no single dichotomy between an observing subject and the real world 'out there'. At every stage, the 'knowing' is intrinsically bound up with the way 'meaning' is accorded to the object of knowledge. Thus an interpretive process is grounded in cultural and linguistic complexity and not in some Archimedean point of ultimate reference beyond history and society. IR then needs to be confronted as social universe characterised by contingency, heterogeneity and difference via detailed understandings of historical, cultural, and linguistic sites of human interaction, including one's own.

[68] Miskimmon et al., *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*, p. 180.
[69] Derek L. Phillips, *Wittgenstein and Scientific Knowledge: A Sociological Perspective* (London: Macmillan, 1977), p. 30, cited in Jim George, *Discourses of Global Politics*, p. 22.

The significance of power in narrations

Since narratives are 'exercises in collective sense-making' individuals and groups reflect on and interpret events and produce shared accounts of explanations. The 'shared' nature of these accounts does not imply that they are the outcome of 'consensus' between equal parties – power is exercised in the development of 'shared views' as some views and voices may be more privileged than others.[70] As examined in this thesis, public political discourse work towards acquiring and legitimising particular actions that validate certain interpretations of identity. Public political discourse thus works towards re-establishing dominant stories and myths by offering acceptable interpretations for the events, and hence re-establish legitimacy of social institutions – i.e., in the context of this study, the institution was the American 'state'. Narrative power thus points towards possibilities of contestation and transformation as 'statements' are inherently the objects of political struggle.[71]

Postcolonial encounters, identity, and inequalities

Although inequalities are still prevalent in Eurocentric narratives, this thesis has shown that the 'othering' is not a simple and a straightforward process of simply radicalising the other in terms of complete denial of identity per se. Rather postcolonial encounters in current times are inherently 'political' and involve various alterations in the self/other relations within an intersubjective environment. This complexity of 'othering' could be only understood in terms of 'radical otherness' and 'otherness' which utilises temporal and spatial themes of progression and non-progression. This is indeed attributable to the fact that modern imperialism is not a straightforward process as it does not involve military stranglehold. Rather ethics of democracy, protection, rights, humanitarianism, and global peace seem to be the discursive structures on which Western predominance is ascertained. Thus racial, economic, and gender

[70] Susan Ainsworth, *Discourse Analysis as Social Construction: Towards Greater Integration of Approaches and Methods*, http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2001/Abstracts/Ainsworth_abstract.pdf (Accessed on 17/05/13).
[71] Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1999), p. 34.

otherings are much more nuanced and politically contestable than previously given credence to.

Future agendas

The narrative identity and action as especially understood in terms of state identity tied to interpretations of global order could be applied to state identity formation and the foreign policies/Foreign Policies of the so called 'new' and 'emerging' countries. BRICS, as a relatively new political and trading block has yet to receive scholarly attention. How each country within BRICS makes sense of self as situated in alternative versions of global order could be an interesting academic pursuit. I am personally very keen to pursue this project as a part of post-doctoral research.

While postcolonial encounters have traditionally focused on the relations of inequalities, the critical constructivists facilitate an understanding that the inequalities are inherently 'political' by nature. While dominant powers frame 'other(s)' in the relations of inequalities, it is also important to evaluate how these unequal relations are themselves integral to the construction of the identity of a postcolonial nation. The narrative of exploitation and past wrongs of colonialism is the only way through which a postcolonial nation can attain a sense of self in postcolonial encounters, and hence, this raises the questions as to whether it is possible to do away with the discourses of inequalities altogether. This is especially pertinent as postcolonial approaches to the construction of identities in the discipline of International Relations have been reluctant to import their findings and methods 'home'.[72] Thus the strict division between inside/outside has been maintained in postcolonial studies. But colonial logics also produced renderings of uncivil, unfit and disordered at 'home'.[73] Thus there are multifaceted acts of 'othering' and it is pertinent to analyse how the reproduction of 'uncivilised', 'unfit' and

[72] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, London: Routledge, 1995). Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[73] Excerpt taken from CfP, 'Bringing Postcoloniality 'Home'? The Erasure of the Inside/Outside Boundary in the Construction of the Domestic Other', Panel submitted to EISA, 2015, Section 63 - Worlds of Colonial Violence.

‘dangerous’ at home blurs the inside/outside division and boundaries in the so-called ‘postcolonial’ nations. Analytically, this form of research will lead beyond ‘Westernisation’ and beyond West-East dichotomies that are central to postcolonial logics and renderings.

After all, further research is still needed in terms of how ‘rogues’ and ‘pariahs’ get defined and redefined in American national discourse. With the rise of ISIS, dangers of the cyber age, it is important to understand how US identity and nuclear foreign policies are adapting to the changing scenarios as new threats in the world ‘out there’ attain significance. What type of narratives are being utilised in terms of defining the nuclear threats whether that might be Iran or North Korea or even ISIS? Do westernising narratives still offer a sense of openness in terms of making sense of self that could direct the course of US foreign policies in the world ‘out there’? The destabilisation of the terrains of IR through critical international relations and security studies is therefore a venture that has the potential to revolutionise the way concepts like us/them, known/unknown, peace/war are dealt with.

Appendix

Author's Interviews and Personal Correspondence

Anonymous. Telephone interview with author, 28 March 2013.

Anonymous. Telephone interview with author, 03 May 2013.

Ashley J. Tellis. Interview with author, Washington D.C., 22 April 2013.

Daryl Kimball. Interview with author, Washington D.C., 22 May 2013.

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